John Updike *on the letters of James Agee*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

August 13, 1962, 25 cents

UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT
AUG 8
LIBRARY

A Tax Cut Now?

Yes—Emile Benoit

No—Paul H. Douglas

Heroes of Japanese Youth

Pan-Am's Glass House

Buzz, Buzz, Buzz

Myrdal's Mistake

BURLINGTON VT
LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT
12-64 K26744 ADDITIONAL
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

T.R.B. *from Washington*

Wait Till It Happens

★ The Soviets resume nuclear testing; Common Market negotiations deadlock with Britain; Keynesian economics retreat all along the Potomac and, of these calamities, the press features Marilyn Monroe's suicide.

Soviet testing inches up closer to the pit, Britain outside the Market means trade chaos, economic obscurantism in Washington probably insures a recession this winter . . . and a tear for Marilyn!

Technicians now say we can be safe with only five or six monitoring teams inside Russia: Soviet teams, "internationally monitored." Pity they couldn't have decided this in the first place, but what is the layman to say! Meanwhile blood-enemies Israel and the United Arab Republic reportedly rush to join the atomic club. Nevil Shute's *On the Beach*, if you recall, began the world's end with A-bombs dropped in an Arab-Israeli skirmish.

With Britain outside (or for that matter, inside) the Common Market the world will never be the same again. No observer is more involved than the US for deadlock here could be the most divisive event since the war. If Britain joins then Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the Beaverbrook *Daily Express* cry "betrayal"; if she stays out, says Foreign Secretary Earl Home, her economy wilts. Commonwealth prime ministers meet September 10.

Here on the Potomac it looked for a while as though the government would act vigorously, 30 years after Keynes, to abort a recession. Most economists think we are entering one. The remedy is specific: compensatory budget deficits, either through tax cuts or spending. But the prospect of bold government action recedes. The reason? Kennedy thinks Congress would not go along. For eight years Eisenhower hammered home the fallacy that deficits are invariably inflationary and it is too late now for Kennedy to re-educate them. Kennedy can postpone his own trouble. The recession probably won't bite till after the election (and may be mild then) so why should Kennedy make the embarrassing admission now that anything is wrong with the economy? Wait till it happens.

Recession or not, our present guess is that the Democrats will lose the normal mid-term marginal seats; say 5 or 10, or maybe more. Putting it bluntly, we would expect the White House-Congressional stalemate to continue to 1964 unless something unpredictable happens. We would not expect major social reform legislation for two years.

Presidential difficulties in driving a liberal program through Congress derive largely from the horse-and-buggy structure of the legislature. Take the Senate, for example. As everybody knows a small rural state has the same representation as a big metropolitan state. Medicare was defeated 52-48, but population represented by Senators favoring the Kennedy plan was 105 million (59 percent) against only 73 million (41 percent). . . . Or take the House: Malapportionment of state seats gives farm areas 20 to 30 more members than population entitles them to, enough probably to have killed Kennedy's farm bill the other day, which lost 215-205, or to decide any close vote involving conservatives versus liberals. The President is elected by all the people, but Congress has a built-in anti-democratic bias.

Dishonest Abe!

★ It is encouraging that two elderly Tennessee Democrats who opposed medicare either were beaten in last week's primaries, or got the scare of their lives. Reps. Frazier and Loser lost by preliminary, unofficial margins of 283 and 46 votes respectively. Medicare featured each battle.

In California the official GOP organization has decided to back three avowed Birchites: Reps. Hiestand and Rousselot and candidate H. L. Richardson of Los Angeles. Nixon urged the GOP to repudiate Robert Welch.

Rousselot in Congress, July 25, combatted the "socialist fallacy" that "the size of the National Debt doesn't matter because we owe it to ourselves." Apparently he is unaware that Lincoln, GOP patron saint, wrote, "Men readily perceive that they cannot be much oppressed by a debt which they owe to themselves" (Messages of the Presidents; vol. 8, pp. 3448-3449). That old Socialist, Dishonest Abe!

We think many friends of Kennedy will vote against younger brother Ted for Senator in Massachusetts. Family loyalty is a blind spot in the Kennedys. We think Ted's candidacy has already injured his brother's prestige here, and few things would hurt the President more, we believe, than having the 30-year-old around as a Senator.

Notes

★ Seventy-five leading historians have rated the US presidents: Lincoln, Washington, FDR, Wilson and Jefferson are the "Greats"; then come six "Near Greats" (with Truman No. 9); then a dozen "Average" (Ike No. 22, or next to last); half a dozen "Below Average" (Coolidge No. 27), and two "Failures": Grant and Harding. . . . In the past 50 years the three Democrats have been "great" or "near-great"; the four Republican "average," "below-average" or "failures." . . . We always have the feeling that if Britain had the American political system that old goose, Field Marshal Montgomery, would be President; thank God the British have a better way of honoring war heroes! . . . We have looked high and low in recent discussions for any editorial suggesting that Puerto Rico does not have the option of becoming a state; we heartily oppose her admission as we did Hawaii's (when we suggested Puerto Rico would be next followed by Guam and the Virgin Islands). . . . Not one editorial discussion have we discovered. . . . Last month US Steel quietly cut the price of line pipe by 5 percent; after all the furore of last April to jack up prices the quiet pressure of the market place itself has forced the price down. . . . And finally we think the best story in Washington is the un-publicized stockpiling investigation; it will come to a climax shortly when Eisenhower's George Humphrey, Sinclair Weeks and Arthur Flemming take the stand.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC *A Journal of Opinion Volume 147 Numbers 6-7 Issues 2490-91 August 13, 1962 Published weekly (except for omissions of four summer issues) and distributed by* The New Republic, *1244 19th St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C. Phone: FEderal 8-2494. Single copy 25c. Yearly subscription, $8.00; Foreign, $9.00, Armed Forces personnel or students, $5.00. Advertising rates upon request. Subscribers desiring change of address should notify us at least three weeks in advance. Include old and new address. Copyright© 1962, by Harrison-Blaine, Inc. Item g. Second class Imprint, reading Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D. C. Indexed in* Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature.

Economics 1-A

THE WEEK

3. Economics 1-A; What Consumers Want; Time Out in Peru; Footnotes to the Week; Policing a Test Ban; Buzz, Buzz, Buzz; Aid Without Strings; Free Time; Waning of a Miracle; Around the Middle East

ARTICLES

11. The Superficial Aspect by Gerald W. Johnson

12. Who Is More Dry? by Robert J. Lifton

15. A Tax Cut Now?

I. Why Delay Would Be Damaging by Emile Benoit

II. It Would Be Wiser to Wait by Paul H. Douglas

DEPARTMENTS

22. Feiffer *23. Books*

24. Architecture *27. Art*

28. Movies *30. Correspondence*

THE STAFF

Gilbert A. Harrison, Editor & Publisher
Selig S. Harrison, Managing Editor
Robert Evett, Books & the Arts Editor
Christopher Jencks, Associate Editor
F. R. Ruskin, Assistant to the Publisher

Contributing Editors:

Alexander M. Bickel, Robert Brustein, Asher Brynes, Helen Fuller, Frank Getlein B. H. Haggin, Morton H. Halperin, Irving Howe, Sidney Hyman, Gerald W. Johnson, Stanley Kauffmann, Helen Hill Miller, Michael Straight

It's gotten so that the safest way to keep a reputation for "fiscal responsibility" is to act irresponsibly. No tax cut this session, say the men who count: Wilbur Mills, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee; Senator Robertson, chairman of the Banking Committee; Senator Byrd, chairman of the Finance Committee; and, for quite different reasons which he explains in this issue of *The New Republic*, Senator Douglas. The public too seems to have accepted the myth that it's irresponsible to reduce taxes so long as there's a deficit. Three out of four Americans, reports the Gallup Poll, go along with Senator Dodd whose "arithmetic says that if I cut my income, I've got to cut my outgo."

The President recognizes this economic illiteracy for what it is, but he is reluctant to risk a repudiation by Congress which could have an adverse psychological effect not only on his leadership but on business and consumer decisions. And so he is delaying his decision until the July figures are all in; that is, well into August, leaving only a few weeks in which this Congress could take action if so required. The July figures, it should be noted, will be no more conclusive than those already in hand, which many economists believe presage an oncoming recession, though this belief is not shared by all the experts. Secret House Ways and Means Committee hearings produced no consensus. The Chairman of Eisenhower's Council of Economic Advisers, Arthur F. Burns, testified against an immediate cut; Economist Gerhard Colm thought a reduction of $8 billion this year advisable. Then there is the dispute over the desirable amount of a tax cut. A month or so ago, the figure generally used was $5 billion, but after the visit to Washington of the Harvard economists – James S. Dusenberry, Otto Eckstein and John Lintner – the figure was upped to $10 billion. The highest figure advocated is $12 billion, and the President is said to lean to $7 billion. In view of idle plant capacity and unemployment, few economists are worried about the inflationary effects of so substantial a cut.

But whose taxes should be cut? Labor economists would limit the reduction to low income groups, so as to give consumption the biggest possible boost. The Chamber of Commerce argues that a cut favoring corporations and higher income groups would stimulate investment for long range growth. Both are partly right. Consumption must be stimulated, in the first instance, to bring idle plants and labor into full production. But to promote more rapid economic growth a tax

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cut should also afford an incentive to investment. A three- or four-to-one ratio in favor of consumption seems about right.

For the maximum effect on investment, however, a tax cut would have to be permanent, and this has caused some, notably Arthur Burns, to recommend that it be deferred so that it can be tied to reform and rationalization of the entire tax structure. Are the two incompatible? An overhaul of the tax structure is certainly overdue, but a tax cut to avert an oncoming recession should not be confused with the larger need. The earliest a tax reform bill could be introduced is next January, and if experience with the legislation introduced in March, 1961 and still not enacted is a guide, no comprehensive tax reform legislation introduced early next year would be approved before 1964. If a recession is now on its way, it could mature into a depression long before the tax reduction weapon could be used.

The most troublesome aspect of this whole tax controversy is not, however, such disagreements as these. It is the prevalence of the heresy, reflected in the Gallup Poll, that any tax cut should be accompanied by a reduction in government spending of equal magnitude. What this heresy misses is that an equal reduction in taxes and in government expenditures would have the net effect of depressing the economy. The reason why this is so is that a dollar of deficit is somewhat more expansionary if it is in the form of an expenditure by government than if it is in the form of an extra dollar in the hands of the taxpayer, who can be expected to put a part of that dollar into his savings or into payment of his debts.

It is the failure to understand this point that is at the bottom of most political opposition to tax reduction. Many Congressmen now opposed would endorse a cut if they did not think, or think their constituents would think, they were lending themselves to "fiscal irresponsibility."

It is not sufficient that professional economists understand the role of government deficits in modern economics; the news has to get across to the public. The President has been trying to do some education, yet any college freshman knows that exposure to an introductory course in economics does not guarantee immunity to economic nonsense. It will take repeated shocks (privation) or repeated explanations (more fireside chats) or both to persuade the people that if a recession develops there will be a huge deficit anyway. That was the situation in 1959, when the 1958 recession begat a deficit of $12 million. Had a tax cut been made early in 1958, as Senator Douglas then urged, this deficit might not only have been smaller; it might have brought about a strong recovery in place of economic stagnation and two ensuing recessions. One dollar of tax cut with a commensurate deficit can be expected to increase the Gross National Product by two to two-and-a-half dollars. If a tax cut succeeds in averting recession and generating economic expansion, there is little doubt that the federal deficit in subsequent years will be less than if the recession had been allowed to develop.

What can be done?

If the President finally decides against asking for a tax cut now – either because he can't count on Congress or isn't persuaded the economic facts compel such a request – prudence calls for immediate enactment of his earlier plea for stand-by authority to cut taxes when he *is* sure the time is ripe. Congress will not be in session in November, and postponement of a cut until it reconvenes in January could be highly damaging. Whether Mr. Kennedy would use such discretionary authority between now and January, one can't be sure, since he has taken so little initiative up to now in pressing the case for a cut. But at least with such power in hand, the President could act promptly, thus providing a stopgap until Congress can consider a permanent cut and over-all tax reform next Spring.

What Consumers Want

Appointment of a 12-member Consumers Advisory Council has fulfilled a Kennedy campaign pledge and perhaps given the Democrats a minor selling point for this Fall. But how much use will it be otherwise? The simultaneous recommendation of a British commission on consumer protection that a permanent Consumers Council should be established in the United Kingdom suggests that the supermarket civilization has reached such a pitch of complication that confused shoppers on both sides of the Atlantic need more government guidance. And indeed they do. The current scandal over the premature release of a dangerous new tranquilizing drug, thalidomide, in Western Europe, and the distribution of it for testing on human beings in this country before it had been fully approved for dispensing by physicians, has made the trials of consumers front page news.

So far as the commoner kind of consumer problems is concerned, practically everybody knows how to solve them at a stroke. People who have no income problems cannot, by definition, have any serious consumer problems. They may buy automobiles with fore-and-aft sets of tailfins, 385-horsepower engines, and power steering, shifting, braking, window-raising and top erection (as well as folding). No consumer testing service can evaluate such purchases by customers so gifted with money, for there is no objective measurement of psychic satisfaction. Consumer problems affect the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

poor, those who have less than they require to cover their essential material wants.

No doubt that is why most people would prefer a higher income than a subscription to *Consumers' Reports*. The capacity to buy more, of whatever, is the grand panacea. Consequently, the consumers, who are everybody, have no specific constituency, as political scientists say, but are organized as wage and salaried workers, professional or business men, farmers. They unite to get more income in order to have fewer consumer problems. It is appropriate therefore that the new Consumers Advisory Council should be attached to the Council of Economic Advisers whose function it is, under the Employment Act of 1946, to advise the President on the ways to manage the economy so that there is substantially full employment, and full use of our productive capacities.

Time Out In Peru

Within 24 hours after the President chastised the Peruvian military for overturning the elections and suspending constitutional government, the State Department announced the suspension of all US aid. Ambassador Loeb and his family have returned home, discouraged and out of favor with the *junta* which now runs the country. The Organization of American States is meeting to consider what action, if any, can be taken. But the OAS can no more take a clear and uncompromising line than can the US government: No Latin American country relishes the idea of outside intervention whatever it may think of any particular regime. Moreover, public opinion in Peru itself, regardless of party, will not take kindly to too much outside pressure, even in the name of democracy, whether from Washington or from the OAS.

The US, along with the other American states, will therefore shortly recognize the military regime because not to do so will neither topple the regime, sweeten it nor win friends among the Peruvians. The question that will then remain is what US aid, if any, should be resumed. Peru receives US military assistance, and indeed many of the officers who engineered the recent coup were trained in this country. The decision whether such aid is to be continued has not yet been made, nor would the security of the Western hemisphere be weakened if it remained in abeyance, as it should. In view of the President's statement and of the Administration's commitment to reform and constitutional government in Latin America, the US obviously cannot now rush to embrace the new regime, however ardently General Ricardo Perez Godoy asserts his government's anti-communism. On the other hand, neither US prestige nor the welfare of the Peruvian people would be

Footnotes *to the* Week

REPUBLICAN CHANCES of gaining control in the House are now rated slight. GOP candidates could win every one of the 40 seats classified as "doubtful" by most experts and still fall 17 votes short of a majority. —— WALTER JUDD *is one of the best-known GOP House members singled out as a probable November casualty. The party's '60 convention key-noter faces an impressive challenger in State Senator Donald Fraser, a partner in the same Minneapolis law firm which produced Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman. Fraser is a former president of the Minneapolis Foreign Policy Association who can engage Judd – a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee and leading pleader for Nationalist China – in serious debate on world issues. Formerly a "safe" silk-stocking constituency, the reapportioned Fifth District now includes traditionally Democratic neighborhoods. With Fraser as Minnesota chairman of his campaign, President Kennedy carried the wards embraced in the new district by 11,000 votes.* —— DEMOCRATIC HOPES are centered on increasing the party margin of control in the Senate by one or more seats – in Connecticut, South Dakota, Kentucky, Illinois or California. —— REPUBLICAN GAINS *in November are expected in state house contests. The stock of Eisenhower Republicans will go up if gubernatorial winners include: Scranton in Pennsylvania, Romney in Michigan, Rockefeller in New York, Alsop in Connecticut, Seaton in Nebraska and Nixon in California. A recent non-partisan analysis indicates a possible net gain of three Governors for the GOP if the doubtful races split evenly between the parties.* —— DRUG CONTROLS will be tightened by the Food and Drug Administration, but Congress is unlikely to join in the rush to slam the barn door on the thalidomide scandal. Despite Kennedy's plea for action, key legislators are cool toward reinforcing federal controls. This attitude is most pronounced in the House Interstate Commerce Committee, which has yet to act on the Administration's original proposals. Its chairman, Oren Harris of Arkansas, feels other matters are more important. In the Senate there is a slightly better prospect, but Harris remains the obstacle. —— STEEL COSTS *are being studied by Sen. Estes Kefauver's Antitrust Subcommittee with the aid of the General Accounting Office. The GAO is compiling production data submitted reluctantly – under subpoena – in the wake of the steel price controversy, and will turn its findings over to the Subcommittee with names of particular steel companies deleted. Kefauver hopes to establish authoritative evidence for the first time on cost-price relationships in support of his administered price thesis.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Outcast

served by cutting off such humanitarian aid as the various food programs, including school lunches for Peruvian children, or cancelling the Peace Corps' work which is about to begin in Peru.

The course that is likely to be followed by Washington is one of cautious delay. In effect, the Alliance for Progress will take time out, using the months between now and the elections which the Peruvian military has promised within a year, to prepare a major effort to go into effect when an elected government is permitted to come to power. No new loans or grants will be made in the interim, though probably 60 to 70 percent of the aid promised will be given over the next six months – largely in the form of technical assistance and the disbursement of loans to which the US is already committed.

Will the military, which so hates the reformist party of Haya de la Torre, really permit free electioneering and a free ballot within a year? It was to prevent de la Torre's party, APRA, from governing that the military took power. The *junta* presumably hopes that it can find ways of preventing APRA from winning a majority of the popular vote and of Congress for a second time. And in this endeavor, the military will have the backing, as it has today, of influential private American investors in Peru. For those private investors appreciate that the reform-minded parties would make life more difficult for them; the preference of foreign private investment is always for governments which permit entrepreneurs to go about their business with a minimum of interference, and that is what the *junta* has promised. Here again, one sees two diplomacies at work: the official diplomacy of US government and the private diplomacy of business. It is true in the Congo, it is true throughout Latin America.

Policing a Test Ban

Climbing down from its previous position on internationally-manned detection stations, the government has now indicated that "adequate supervision" by international inspectors of Soviet-manned posts within the USSR would be an acceptable basis for a nuclear test ban treaty. However, the new US proposals suggested by the President last week and defined somewhat more precisely by Mr. Arthur Dean on August 4 would empower the international control authority to make a specified number of periodic inspections and to examine Soviet records. On the critical issue of the number of on-site inspections of suspicious seismic events, the Administration has given promise of a compromise – the US has in the past asked from 12 to 20, as against Soviet agreement at one point to three per year – while holding fast to the principle of international inspection.

The immediate impetus for the modification of the US position at Geneva appears to have been the evaluation of new scientific data suggesting that it is easier than had previously been assumed to distinguish earthquakes from nuclear explosions. In 1959, the so-called "first motion" technique on which the Eisenhower Administration had based its determination of nuclear explosions was called into question by an influential school of US scientists; and not until several months ago did advances in the seismographic art give Mr. Kennedy's scientific advisers adequate answers to the doubts raised in 1959. It is now said that estimates of the incidence of possible earthquakes among suspicious seismic events made by the US national monitoring network can be reduced from two to eight times below previously accepted figures. The net effect of the new findings has been to reinforce the view put forward in these pages (*NR*, April 2 and 23) that a US national detection system, while not foolproof, offers as much security against cheating as the proposed international systems, and that a test ban without international inspection should be acceptable to the United States.

In continuing to seek the façade of an international control system, the Administration has, in our view,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

unnecessarily encumbered US negotiators. The new, even less stringent system would, like the old, be able to detect some but not all Soviet underground tests. The Russians would still be able to cheat underground without the possibility of detection by the seismic system if they are motivated to do so. The United States has never proposed an international inspection system capable of detecting all Soviet tests, and the possibilities for violation left by a national inspection system do not seem to us to expose the US to greater danger than would the proposed international system.

Buzz, Buzz, Buzz

Rachel Carson's three-part *New Yorker* article on the dangers of pesticides has stirred up a storm. The pesticides' industry and chemical business publications are huffing and puffing, and government agencies are under pressure to hammer out official statements reassuring the public that the nation is not spraying itself into mass suicide. Yet Miss Carson can't be passed off as a sensation-seeking muckraker; her reputation as biologist, educator and writer precludes that.

So far the business press has done little more than admonish Miss Carson for her rashness, but this is largely a ritualistic reiteration of clubby solidarity and not a point-by-point critique of her statements. McGraw-Hill's *Chemical Week* says "We shall leave it to scientists to prove or disprove Miss Carson's many allegations." Having thus perfunctorily shifted responsibility, *Chemical Week* decides that "her facts are correct, her conclusions less certain, and her innuendos misleading." Just how she errs is not mentioned.

Agricultural Chemicals – which regularly cudgels any and all critics of the pesticides industry – has not yet commented on the article. But in its July issue the magazine inveighs against *Life* magazine's innocuous pictorial essay about insect pests (May 11), and warns that *Life* "signaled the start of the 1962 campaign to stir up the public against pesticides." This is odd, since *Life's* article stated that chemical pesticides are "too valuable to be outlawed." What seems to irk *Agricultural Chemicals* was *Life's* reporting of the undeniable fact that scientists are investigating other methods of insect control (e.g. use of predators, baited traps, insect sterilization to reduce species reproduction). Why the opposition to such alternate methods? Because broadscale application of non-chemical pesticide control might substantially undercut pesticides' sales.

Chemical and Engineering News (official news organ of the American Chemical Society) has said that Miss Carson's article "stirs reactions that suggest retreat in shock . . . she builds an atmosphere for inference that pesticides cause cancer and might even distort the very base of our genetic soundness." But *C&EN* doesn't deny the very real possibility that there are carcinogens among the host of complex organic chemicals used as pesticides.

In a few months Rachel Carson's complete case against pesticides will hit the stands in book form; her *New Yorker* articles comprise only a part of the complete work. The controversy will then flare anew. Sooner or later the industry will have to admit that the use of pesticides imposes a calculated risk – and it must then provide proof that pesticides are being used primarily as weapons against greater insect-borne hazards and not simply as means to bigger corporate profits. At this stage there is no simple, yes-or-no answer to the layman's question: "Am I being poisoned by pesticides?" But the layman can help minimize the risks. He can avoid indiscriminate use of pesticides in the home and garden, he can read application directions with care, and avoid products in any way dubious.

For example, one garden equipment manufacturer currently touts a "sensational portable insect fogger ($34.95) . . . which makes outdoor living fun again. This wonderful device . . . throws a dense spreading fog that covers a complete porch, patio or pool area in seconds, clearing it of insects." The manufacturer of the fogger states that "fogged areas can be occupied immediately, but insect control effects remain for hours." *Any* oil-based insecticide, the buyer is advised, can be used provided it does not clog the fogger's nozzle. Other than there are no clearly stated safety warnings in the literature that accompanies the fogger.

However, the can of recommended insecticide bears a warning in small print – that the contents are dangerous if swallowed and that children subjected to its fog should receive medical attention immediately. Nevertheless, consumers are urged to use the fogger and insecticide in pools, patios, porches, and barbecues, leaving one to ask which constitutes the greater risk – a few mosquitoes or insecticide-fogged hamburgers.

Aid with Strings

While the President was signing the $4.672 billion foreign aid authorization last week, the House mutual security subcommittee headed by Rep. Otto Passman (D., La.) was threatening to cut the still pending aid appropriations bill by more than $1 billion. Though the relatively restrained temper of the House during the debate on the authorization bill provides some encouragement that drastic cuts could be restored in the event of a floor fight, the Administration suspects that anti-aid forces have been holding their fire for the appropriations battle, and that the 221-162 margin of the authorization vote on July 24 may not accurately reflect

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

latent sentiment against foreign aid.

There is a certain method in this annual Congressional madness of authorizing a program and then withholding the funds to carry it out: it keeps the Executive on the defensive, driving it to one concession after another. It took Mr. Kennedy's insistent personal intervention to retain authority for extending aid to Yugoslavia and Poland; and the terms for his compromise with the House leadership placed the responsibility for the exercise of this authority entirely on the President without the slightest suggestion that Congress might have been too intransigent in its decision to ban all aid to Communist countries. Moreover, the White House had used up so much of its capital by this intervention that it did not even make the effort to reverse the potentially destructive amendment to the legislation denying aid to countries which expropriate US-owned property without taking "appropriate steps" within six months to "discharge their obligations under international law."

The anti-expropriation amendment was inspired by a Brazilian state government's seizure last February of a subsidiary of the International Telephone and Telegraph Company. Rigidly applied, the amendment would require cancelling aid to Brazil this fall. Administration spokesmen are finding some comfort, however, in the theory that the legislative history of the amendment gives the State Department latitude in interpreting the phrase "appropriate steps." They point to a colloquy on the House floor in which a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, Rep. Ross Adair (R, Ind.), called attention to the "flexibility" of the amendment. "Preliminary steps" indicative of "a good faith willingness to negotiate" a settlement of investors' claims, said Rep. Adair, might make a rigid interpretation of the six months clause unnecessary. But privately, some officials predict that the amendment will make it harder to negotiate settlements and actually provoke further expropriation of American property by nationalist leaders who thrive politically on fighting "Yankee imperialism."

Free Time

All political parties have equal rights, but some are more equal than others. That, at any rate, was the assumption in 1960 when the statutory requirement for equal time on television for all Presidential and Vice-Presidential nominees in that campaign was suspended. Now the question of permanent repeal or another suspension, and possible extension to other offices, is being considered by a Senate communications subcommittee. Broadcasters and their News Directors Association say that if the equal-time requirement is waived, they can offer free time for debates among major candidates without having to do the same for, as in one instance, a Sekaukas pig farmer who was running for President.

Minor party spokesmen, from the Socialists to the Conservatives, are of course opposed to any change that would, in their opinion, strengthen the near monopoly of the two major parties. And yet, if the equal time requirement remains in force, few stations are likely to offer free facilities to *any* candidates.

An equitable way out is at hand: proportional time. This is the formula used by the British Broadcasting Company. It allows all parties to be heard so long as they meet certain minimum standards (as defined by presence on the ballot, number of petitions or percentage of votes cast in a previous election), yet recognizes that major parties are major by giving them more time. For every hour offered to the Democrats and Republicans, for example, ten minutes might be given the Socialists or other parties of equal following, and, say, twenty minutes to a minor party which polls a more substantial vote, such as the Liberal party in New York. The proportional time system has the advantage of definiteness: compliance is easily determined, as is not the case with those proposals which simply require that stations treat candidates "fairly." Such an ambiguous standard, as Chairman Minow of the FCC has noted, would put an intolerable burden on the FCC, considering that there are 800 TV and 6000 radio stations which would have to be monitored.

Waning of a Miracle

For 12 years the D mark has been the symbol of West German prosperity. On its tenth birthday (it was created in 1948 when the worthless "Reichsmark" was abolished) a commemorative stamp was issued in its honor. Successive Presidents of the Federal Bank have never ceased to proclaim its stability as the most important single factor in West Germany's continuing economic expansion. But in mid-July, an emergency "D mark conference" was called by Dr. Adenauer. It was the first of a series of such meetings, whose purpose is to discover how to halt inflation and the slow slide in the purchasing power of the currency.

Is the D mark really in danger? A few facts should help to explain the worries of the West German Government. The German cost of living index has risen only twice as fast during the last 10 years as those of France and Britain, the industrialized countries of comparable size in Europe. But during the last 12 months it has risen by nearly 4.5 percent. Food prices have risen by more than 10 percent, hitting the working man particularly hard. This has happened at a time when the rate of economic expansion has slackened.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Last year productivity rose by only four percent. The effect of this will only become apparent this year, for which a growth of only three percent in the national income is forecast.

What's gone wrong? First of all, there is a growing shortage of labor. At the beginning of last month unemployment dropped to its lowest postwar figure – 97,000. The number of vacant jobs rose to 625,800. There were over 620,000 foreign workers employed in Western Germany, and their number should rise to nearly 700,000 by the end of the year. But Western Germany has now been deprived of its most valuable source of additional labor, the East German refugees. Of the 200,000 who arrived from the East each year in the past, more than 130,000 were of working age. Now only a trickle is getting through. There is a limit to the number of foreigners who can be "imported" – imposed by the housing shortage and the need for skilled labor. The West German labor shortage will continue.

The labor shortage has, in turn, emboldened the Trade Unions in their demands for higher wages and shorter working hours. The Federal Minister of Economics, Ludwig Erhard, foresaw this when he appealed in mid-March for price and wage "moderation." But the Federal Government itself failed to abide by the spirit of his appeal. It intervened – on Dr. Adenauer's responsibility – three times in labor disputes, in favor of the workers who were asking for higher wages.

In the third place, the mirage of inflationary prosperity has had its effect on the morale of labor. The image of the immensely industrious German, who "lives in order to work" is beginning to fade.

The German is no longer working more hours than his European neighbors. Last year he averaged 2,135 hours for the whole year. The Frenchman averaged 2,205 hours and the Englishman 2,230. The German had 29 non-working weekdays in 1961 (14 days "lump" holiday, and 15 single saints' days and other public holidays). The Frenchman had only 23 non-working weekdays, the Englishman 16. Moreover, although the West German does not relish labor disputes which lead to strike action, he has become strangely prone to absent himself from his work on grounds, real or imaginary, of sickness. In 1961, 67 percent of the employed labor-force reported sick once during the year. In 1956 it was 56 percent, in 1950 only 45 percent. Here is the biggest "hidden" factor (for it has barely been reported) in the slackening of West German economic expansion.

The German worker has been further encouraged to take life more easily than before by the speedy development of the welfare state. The social services will cost 45 billion marks this year, against 30 billion in 1957 and only 12 billion in 1950. Next year's expenditure on the social services is expected to be 49.5 billion marks.

Around the Middle East

In the jungle of Middle East politics it is sometimes useful to step back from the latest crisis – whether in Syrian-Egyptian relations or on the Arab-Israeli frontier or in Iraqi Kurdistan – and take a longer view.

Today neither Russia nor America is trying to recruit Arab states as military or political allies. The Arabs are determined to keep out of the Cold War and their neutralism is acknowledged by both sides. But within this framework, US policy has scored and is scoring some notable successes, of which perhaps the greatest has been to convince Arab leaders that the "pactomania" of the Dulles era – the obsession with trying to contain Communism by imposing military treaties on reluctant populations – is well and truly buried. Great Powers cannot change course overnight: their worldwide commitments are too numerous; a change on one front means complex adjustments elsewhere. But the Kennedy Administration has gone some way to change the image of America in Arab eyes.

The bad old days of corrupt and reactionary "client" states, trading their anti-Communism for US subsidies, are numbered. Looking back, the turning point was probably the Lebanese crisis of 1958 when the net effect of the massive US military intervention was not to prop up the pro-Western President Camille Shamoun, who had called in the Marines, but to pave the way for a peaceable takeover by a neutralist cabinet. Today, despite huge American oil investments in Saudi Arabia, Washington tries to avoid being identified with the feudal regime there. And despite Nasser's recent setback in Syria and his galloping socialism and authoritarianism, Washington has systematically supported him as the most "progressive" force in the area.

The Administration's attitude toward Nasser rests on the view (1) that in backward economies socialism is quite often the best defense against Communism; (2) that Egypt possesses most of the prerequisites for growth: human and natural resources, the will and the ability to mobilize them and a competent civil service; (3) that Egypt has an important "bridge" role to play between Africa and Arab Asia; (4) that Nasser is a genuine nationalist with enough experience, conviction and toughness to avoid a fate such as Castro's; (5) that he is still the only Arab leader with whom a peaceful solution to the Palestine problem might be negotiated. A sixth important factor is the excellent personal relationship which US Ambassador Badeau, for many years President of the American University in Cairo, has established with the Egyptian leaders.

In contrast with these successes the Soviet offensive in the Middle East, launched in 1955 with support for neutralism and Arab nationalism at a time when the West was fighting both, has now lost its momentum.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Soviet Union is committed to large aid programs in Egypt, Syria and Iraq with little political advantage to show for it. The days are past when Russia could win rich political dividends from an arms deal or from springing noisily to the defense of an Arab state in the face of Western threats. For one thing the threats no longer exist; for another, most Arab leaders have by now learned the realities of international politics. Moreover, the shortcomings of Soviet (and Chinese) agriculture have not been lost on a mainly agricultural Middle East. The Communists are in fact having to reconcile themselves to long-term peaceful competition in the hope that their economic aid will lead to the creation of an industrial proletariat and promote in other ways an eventual Communist takeover.

This is not to say that the Soviet Union is not always ready to exploit any opening that might present itself. The present local equilibrium could be disturbed in several ways, and if this were to happen the Middle East could easily become once again a focus of East-West conflict.

In the first place the Arab nationalist movement is no longer the monolithic force it was when Nasser was in sole command. This in itself is a major factor for instability. Syria's breakaway from the United Arab Republic last September dealt Nasser a body blow from which he has by no means recovered. Today, he is no longer the messianic figure of the late 1950's. In fact, the current Egyptian-American flirtation has given his enemies (which include Israel as well as most of the Arab states) a stick with which to beat him. Some Syrians, for instance, now accuse him of being an American stooge and of having bartered the rights of the Palestine Arabs for American aid. In the Arab family circle such smears are damaging.

Nasser's partial eclipse has weakened the movement for Arab unity and stiffened local nationalism all over the area. In Iraq, Jordan, Syria and the Persian Gulf, young men who a year ago would have pinned their hopes for the future on Nasser are today turning their thoughts inward on their local domestic problems. This could eventually lead to healthy constructive effort, but in the short-term it means disillusion and alarm at the magnitude of the tasks to be tackled.

In Iraq, for example, General Kassem is wrestling with the Kurdish rebellion in the north – now nearly a year old, far from crushed and threatening the very fabric of the Iraqi state. At the same time he is still seeking a way out of his uneasy stalemate with the oil companies which came after the breakdown of negotiations and the government takeover of unworked concession areas. Finally, he is saddled with an ill-judged claim to Kuwait which in the last year has driven Iraq into increasing international isolation. Kassem's latest move has been to demand the withdrawal of the American ambassador from Baghdad because the US recognized Kuwait.

The Kuwait problem has become a time-bomb built into General Kassem's regime: the forces, both Arab and international, ranged against his annexation of the oil-rich sheikhdom are too great for him to challenge single-handed; yet neither he, nor his eventual successor, can now withdraw the Iraqi claim without irreparable loss of prestige. But neither can Britain and the United States, whose oil interests in Kuwait are the main obstacle to Kassem's ambitions, allow their relations with Iraq to degenerate into open hostility.

Kuwait aside, Iraq's own oil poses a major problem for the West. The heart of the Iraqi case is that Iraq should be given, or be allowed to buy, some financial stake in her own oil industry. She is no longer content with a check for royalties. "Participation" has become the key slogan allied to the legitimate desire to integrate the oil industry – at present a function of Western Europe's economy – into her own national economy. The fear of creating precedents which might hamper operations elsewhere has prevented the oil companies offering more than piecemeal amendments to the present agreement. But what is urgently required to guarantee long-term oil supplies from Iraq is a new formula, as imaginative as was the 50/50 principle when it was introduced a decade ago.

Finally, two problems are likely to dominate Middle Eastern affairs in the next five years: the one an old issue but still the most explosive of all – Palestine; the other a new and emergent force which threatens the whole balance of power in the Arab world – Algeria.

The log-jam in Arab-Israeli relations is complete. All President Kennedy's discrete efforts to find an area of compromise seem doomed to failure in view of Arab intransigence and Israeli militancy. The basic dilemma on the Israeli side is that her security requirements conflict with her need to convince the Arabs of her peaceful intentions. That is why instead of launching a "peace offensive" she is constantly tempted to biff one or other Arab state – the latest was Syria last March – and otherwise flex her muscles. It is hard to see how constant skirmishing, if not open conflict, can be avoided once Israel sets in motion her scheme to divert Jordan water to the Negev.

As for an independent Algeria, once it is able to stand on its feet, her seasoned army, trained cadres and Socialist programs, together with the central place she has come to occupy in Arab affections after seven years of heroic war, will ensure her a leading place in Arab affairs, challenging Egypt's long supremacy. The danger is that in her bid for Arab leadership Algeria will be forced to take up a militant position over Palestine, still the only issue to which Arabs everywhere have been conditioned to respond.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Gerald W. Johnson

A Sidelong Glance

At an Issue Raised by Gunnar Myrdal
Which Many of My Betters Say
Must Be Faced Squarely

Gunnar Myrdal's masterpiece, *An American Dilemma*, owed its tremendous impact to its revelation – not discovery, for less articulate thinkers had known it before 1944 – that in this country there is no Negro Problem. What is so miscalled is actually a white man's problem, the very ancient problem of making his conduct square with his conscience. At the time of its publication, 18 years ago, the only penetrating criticism of the book was the allegation that its historical perspective was somewhat distorted.

Dr. Myrdal's recent address at Howard University, reproduced in these pages on July 9, shows that he has attached little weight to this criticism. True, the circumstances should be taken into account. He was making a Commencement speech to a Negro audience and tact on such an occasion is a reasonable requirement; furthermore, it was an essay in prognosis, a task in which historical analysis is strictly incidental. Nevertheless, when the speaker congratulated his hearers on 20 years of startling progress following "six decades of stagnation," he supplied his critics with more evidence to prove their point. For it is their contention that in a correct historical perspective the years to which he refers were anything but six decades of stagnation; on the contrary, they were an indispensable period of preparation for the accelerated movement of the past 20 years.

If no more were involved in this than justice to the two generations concerned it might be dismissed as a sentimental objection, for justice in history is quite as rare as it is in courts and legislatures. But there is another consideration which is not sentimental but, to my mind, highly utilitarian. It is the fact that an inaccuracy at this point may lead, and probably must lead, to a damaging misconception of what, for lack of a better name, we call Americanism. Americanism has its local characteristics, to be sure; but essentially it is, to borrow Karl Jaspers' words spoken in another connection, "one instance in the hazardous enterprise of freedom which the Western world, so far the only civilization in the history of humanity to do so, has undertaken."

The American instance "in the hazardous enterprise of freedom" was not created *de novo;* it was merely an adaptation and development of ideas on which the British had been working for nearly 400 years before Jamestown was founded. The basic idea, of course, was the assumption – hypothesis, if you prefer – that the generality of men have the capacity as well as the desire to enjoy liberty under law. British experience had given us sufficient reason to believe that the assumption was sound, as applied to a predominantly British population in America, due allowance being made for geographical, topographical and climatic differences.

Beginning, then, in 1776, we tried it and it worked, imperfectly to be sure, but well enough to permit the survival and growth of the nation. It continued to work through the influx of an immense non-British population. Still, the experiment was not conclusive, because there were, after all, important similarities among all these people. Pole and Ukrainian, Greek and Italian were not British but, like the British, they were European, and they were of the pigmentation, ranging from pink to brown, that we call white.

More importantly, they were all heirs of the Greco-Roman civilization and most of them had furnished, at one time or another one instance or another of the "hazardous enterprise." Thus proof that Americanism was efficient not only for Anglo-Saxons but for all Europeans was not conclusive evidence that it would be equally efficient as applied to all mankind.

That evidence was supplied by the Negro. Here was a group not previously conditioned by the Mediterranean culture. On the contrary, it was accustomed through millennia to accept slavery as a normal status of the weak. In the barracoons at the African ports the slave-dealers were careful to mingle their victims from various tribes in order to discourage conspiracies to revolt. This had the effect of eradicating such cultural traditions as they might have inherited. They landed in America without a common culture, common traditions or a common language. Culturally, the African slave presented a *tabula rasa* on which the New World might write what it would.

Not until 1865 did the New World determine to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

write there the character of a full-fledged American citizen, and even then the decision was half-hearted. Most of the very formidable labor and expense of the operation fell upon those white men most firmly committed to the theory that it couldn't be done. Yet 97 years later it has been so far successful that it is now proceeding with giant strides and complete success is definitely within easy reach.

There are two excuses for bringing this up at this time. One, I admit, is thoroughly bad, but the other, I think is good. The bad excuse is to inflate American complacency, already too much swollen. The good excuse is to deflate American pessimism, by some psychological paradox also distended beyond all reason. It has come to the point that we cringe whenever Moslem or Hindu pronounces the word "Negro." Well, there are things, far too many things, in the record for which we ought to blush; but they are not the whole record. This very day, even in darkest Mississippi, an American Negro's life, his property, and his dignity are far more secure than a South African Negro's, and life and property are safer there than they are in most other parts of turbulent Africa.

Much remains to be done. If we had been wiser and more just, much more could have been done already. But at a time when men on all sides are bewailing the frustration of our efforts, the defeat of our hopes, it is something to realize that this darkest blot on the escutcheon is not jet black. For Americanism – true Americanism, not the fraud propagated by moronic super-patriots – still makes headway, slowly but measurably, under every imaginable handicap.

This Dr. Myrdal has not emphasized, and the failure is a defect in his otherwise magnificent work.

THE CASUAL COWBOY IS THE HERO OF YOUNG JAPANESE

Who Is More Dry?

Hiroshima

In postwar Japan, especially among young people, it is good to be "dry" (or *durai*), rather than "wet" (or *wetto*). This means – in the original youth language, as expanded by mass media – to be direct, logical, to the point, pragmatic, casual, self-interested, rather than polite, evasive, sentimental, nostalgic, dedicated to romantic causes or bound by obligation in human relations; to break out of the world of cherry-blossoms, *haiku*, and moon-viewing, into a modern era of bright sunlight, jazz and Hemingway (who may be said to have been the library god of dryness). Intellectual youth, of course, disdain these oversimplified categories. But they too have made the words *durai* and *wetto* (typical examples of postwar Japanized English) part of their everyday vocabulary, and they find dry objects of admiration in an interesting place: in American films about cowboys and gunmen.

Students of every kind of background and ideological coloring have told me of this fascination for American Westerns. I was therefore in no way surprised when one of them, after seeing *The Magnificent Seven*, held forth enthusiastically for the better part of two hours on the absolute dryness of the film's hero (as portrayed by Yul Brynner) – on his complete freedom from binding human relationships, his utter indifference to ordinary conventions of propriety and responsibility, as well as to danger and risk. Since this American Western had been adapted from the Japanese film, *The Seven Samurai*, I thought this an intriguing cultural sequence – from Japanese film to American film to Japanese youth (leaving aside for the moment the influence of American Westerns on the original Japanese film). Indeed the two films (as I discovered when I saw them myself in Tokyo within a few days of each other) reveal much about the two great warrior myths so central to American and Japanese cultural tradition, and therefore much about Americans and Japanese – especially in regard to their common quest for dryness.

One is at first struck by how similar the American free-lance gunmen and the Japanese free-lance *Samurai*, or *Ronin*, can be made to seem. But as one gets a deeper sense of the two groups portrayed in the films, one becames aware of revealing differences.

The identity of the American warrior-heroes lies almost entirely in their weapons. They refer to themselves and to each other not as gunmen, but as Guns. These Guns seem to have once had homes and families, but no more. Each is a lone-wolf, a rugged individualist of the frontier who earns his bread by his skill at "the draw." He has done a good deal of killing, and without qualm, but in most cases only when necessary. He is a mercenary, and his loyalties last only so long as his employer of the moment makes these loyalties financially worthwhile. At least this is the way he

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

presents himself at the beginning of things. He is a product of the great American cowboy myth, a myth which has elements of a group brotherhood but which is, in essence, a myth of the magnificent self.

The seven magnificent selves of the American film spring from the relatively anti-social fringes of this all-encompassing myth. The individual gun has not, like some cowboys, had the habit of applying his expertness to the defense of some form of justice within existing society; he is much more likely to direct it against the social order, virtually all of which he disdains. Thus, his constant urge to "move on" is both a flight from authority and a quest for uninterrupted adventure. He is not just a Gun, but a Gun in motion. And he is utterly alone. He strikes us as the very model of dryness.

The Japanese warrior-heroes – *Samurai* cast adrift from their former lords during the social chaos following the great battle of Sekighara just prior to the onset of the Tokugawa era during the early part of the 17th Century – are also mercenaries who care little about risking or taking life. They too are ultra-masculine figures whose value to others lies in their skill with their weapons, in their case usually the sword, occasionally the bow and arrow, never the newly-introduced and highly-unrefined gun (in a final sequence of the film, the sword is made to defeat the gun).

Yet the *Ronin* differs from his American counterpart in one essential element: he retains a profound relationship to his society, however adrift, lawless, or even destructive he may be within that society. His myth is social rather than individual. His very existence as a *Samurai* binds him to society through the *Samurai* code of honor, no matter how far he may have strayed from living up to it. Indeed, his sense of honor constantly awaits reactivation, and this can only be achieved by finding a new lord to serve and becoming part of a new social group. Like the cowboy, he plays an important part in the building of a great tradition; but unlike the cowboy he has a clear historical precedent on which to build. Historically and ideologically, he is "engaged." In comparison with the Gun, the *Samurai* seems to have a suggestion of wetness.

Consequently the two groups have somewhat different motivation for coming to the aid of the victimized peasant farmers. Neither group is of course given to such extravagantly wet tendencies as sentimentalism or altruism. The men we are introduced to at the beginning of the two films, whatever their pride of marksmanship or sense of honor, are not the type to rally, with banners unfurled, to the defense of the first underdog in sight. In both cases, the leader of the group does develop a certain sympathy for the peasant farmers, the sympathy of a strong man with courage to spare. Yet this sympathy would hardly in itself have been enough to inspire such seemingly hard-hearted men to become involved in a struggle in which the odds were so heavily against them, and in which they had so little to gain.

In the case of the American Guns, there is a prominent feeling of "Why not, what the hell?" They have nothing better to do, nothing to lose, it is a form of work they know well, and the very outlandishness of the odds against them serves as a challenge. Moreover, it is a challenge in which they can look forward, at least temporarily, to surrendering their noble burden of loneliness by sharing this preposterous adventure and becoming a viable group of working Guns. Money too is important to them, since they constantly inquire about payment to be received. The smallness of this promised payment, $20, is a kind of recurring joke; but for hungry men – sometimes hunted as well – $20 matters. And one among them, until the moment of his death dreams of finding buried treasure, which he, as a pure mercenary, considers to be the only possible explanation for the other Guns' having taken the job in the first place.

The *Samurai*, too, in their decision to help, have much of the bravado of adventurers. And they are attracted to the possibility of a regular rice ration – though they can expect nothing more, and are above the mention of money. But among their six rank and file, the great urge and attraction is to fall in behind a new leader. Although this leader is, like themselves, no more than a *Ronin*, they make him in effect their new lord. They refer to him as, "*Sensei*," which means Teacher, Mentor, or Master, and ask to become his "*deshi*," his disciples or students.

But why does the leader himself accept the peasant farmers as *his* "Lord," which is essentially what he does when he agrees to serve them by doing battle with their enemies? I think we must say that he does so out of his *Samurai* sense of honor and responsibility. His concern for the peasants is concern from above. Their plight involves him because of his prior commitment to the code of the *Samurai* – to its call for courage, honor, discipline, sincerity, and direct action in defense of what is thought to be right. And what the *Sensei* feels, his *deshi* feel too, as mediated through his personal example. All share in the sense of social responsibility (again a bit moist) demanded of them by their now-reactivated *Samurai* code, in sharp contrast to the essentially asocial and nonideological (and therefore utterly dry) motivation of their cowboy counterparts.

What happens when the two groups of warrior-heroes meet their great trial, both in the heat of battle and in their intimate exposure to the lives of the peasant farmers? Are we able to retain our original impression of them? With the American Guns, one has a strong sense of a constant test of courage. We are, in fact, witness to almost as many varieties of courage as

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

there are men involved: the cool, unwavering courage of the Leader; the icy, supercourage of the Slouch – a man who, in his semi-reclining, hat-over-eyes, eyes-nearly-closed position during moments of greatest danger, is the ultimate American-cowboy answer to the fear of being "yellow" (he is based on a Japanese counterpart, but one nonetheless immediately recognizes his true mythological origins); the courage, failed and regained, of the killer still plagued with nightmares of death and guilt; the hearty, amiable courage of the tough-exterior, heart-of-gold Vagrant, whose attraction for the children of the village leads ultimately to his death; the honest courage of the boyish, brilliantly expert Number Two Man, who can admit breaking out into a cold sweat before every battle; and, most symbolic of all, the hard-won courage of the aspiring Gun – the youngster who lacks the true credentials of the trade, admires the excellence of his seniors, and finally gains admission to their ranks after a prolonged bout of exaggeratedly proving his manhood.

Yet if the American Guns reveal imperfect dryness through their struggle with courage and manhood, they do so even more in their developing relationship to the peasant farmers. Here men differ in their attitudes, and one or two even remain rather aloof; but the clear trend is toward a remarkable softening of heart, toward a sentimental attachment to those whom they protect. Indeed, these tough Guns, in their monologues on the virtues of farmers and farming as contrasted with the emptiness of their own rootless existence, become almost slobbering converts to home and family. This unconvincing turnabout is a very American weakness. What the Guns want after all is not solitude but togetherness, not fighting but tranquility. They do succeed in finally remembering who they really are and, with a helpful push from the farmers who no longer want them around, take their leave (all except the young novitiate who, having established his right to be a Gun, can now cease to be one, settle down with the girl from the village, and return to the peasant farmer's life from which he originally came). But now they have become something of fallen idols. Their dryness has proved brittle, if not illusory.

In the Japanese film we get (equally characteristically for the culture) a less clear sense of individuals; rather the group merges into a more or less collective *Samurai*. There are, to be sure, Japanese equivalents of many of the American types already mentioned, but we do not get an equivalent sense of seven different men proving their courage and manhood. The Ronin do not establish their identity by individual acts, but simply by being members of a traditional class. Their behavior, as compared to that of the gunmen, is steadier, more predictable, and less spectacular. They know what to expect, do what has to be done, take the necessary losses (only two of the seven survive), and emerge – inevitably – victorious. There are no surprises.

Can we say that same of their relationship to the peasant farmers? In this relationship lies the key to our question about relative dryness, and in fact the point of the film itself. The *Samurai*, like the Guns, come to experience great intimacy with the peasant farmers they are employed to protect – a degree of intimacy which we are led to believe, is quite new to them, especially in relationship to their social inferiors. Yet they never for a moment cease to be *Samurai*, nor wish to do anything else. Indeed it is inconceivable that they and the farmers could remain together. Thus the *Samurai* survivors accept, with sadness but without bitterness, their no longer being wanted by the farmers upon successful completion of their military task. And the leader's final comment, upon obseryving the return of the village to its normal pattern, is as profound as it is appropriate: "It is not we but rather the farmers who have won. It is they who always win." The film's message becomes clear: men are separate, they come together in crisis, they resume their separateness; but beyond this rhythm of separateness and unity are the larger rhythms of life and death, of earth and man – the harmony of the elements and the continuity of generations. To understand this message and to live by it – as the *Samurai* do and the Guns do not – is not only superior dryness but truth itself.

Then why, we may well ask, do Japanese youth (and not only Japanese youth) continue to chase this will-o'-the-wisp of American cowboy pseudo-dryness, rather than seek the authentic dryness of their own cultural tradition? One must remind oneself that the *Samurai* myth of a feudal era can no longer speak to their condition. Living in a world in which one can hardly be sure of the rhythms of earth and man or of the continuity of generations, their own warrior tradition largely dishonored by their country's recent disastrous military adventures – we should not be surprised that they try to discard their old myth and seek to find meaning in a new one. Nor is it an accident that this new myth holds out a promise of liberation of the self from all social constraints, in a society in which these very "wet" constraints become more, rather than less, burdensome as modern – and post modern – life takes shape.

But the past is not so easily dismissed. Japanese youth are both experimenting with new psychological themes and reactivating old ones. Surely they will end up neither Cowboys nor *Samurai*. Perhaps, after all, they are not chasing after anything so much as following the long-standing Japanese pattern of temporarily merging with an outside force as a means of discovering themselves. And in doing this they may be more dry than they think.

ROBERT JAY LIFTON

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Tax Cut Now?

I – Why Delay Would Be Dangerous

by Emile Benoit

Ex-President Hoover has just expressed sympathy for President Kennedy. He remembers all too well what it is like to assume office shortly before a major stock market break, and with a basically unsympathetic Congress to work with. It would be ironical indeed if a President elected on the pledge to get a nation moving again was destined to repeat Mr. Hoover's tragicomedy of indecision and inaction in the face of a softening of the US economy.

This softening is now widely admitted, but there is a paralysis of the will to act. Though we are far from achieving the production and employment goals of the Employment Act of 1946, we are still "waiting for more evidence"; and each month we wait costs us $2 to $3 billions of extra goods and services the nation badly needs and could easily produce. Despite misleading talk of an "affluent society," one American family out of eight is still earning less than $40 a week, and the average American still has only $38 a week to spend – a scant $4 increase in the last 8 years.

Before discussing why a tax cut is advisable now – and what kind – we need discuss the broader problem of economic growth and stagnation.

Some would like to view this problem as involving a basic conflict between government and business. Nothing could be more absurd. Corporate profits after taxes declined an average of 11 percent in the recession years of 1954 and 1958, and rose an average of 26 percent in the recovery years of 1955 and 1959. Wages and salaries, by contrast, hardly declined in the recessions and rose less than eight percent in the recoveries. Business has a greater stake in growth than anyone else.

Unfortunately, business does not speak with a single voice on the importance of economic growth and profits. Many who claim to speak for business represent primarily the rentier interest, the owners of bonds and mortgages, who care little for the profitability of business in general but care a very great deal for price stability – or if possible, price declines – which would conserve or enhance the purchasing power of their fixed incomes or the value of their fixed income securities. Many businessmen whose true interests lie in growth and profits have been taken in by the rentier propaganda emanating from banks, insurance companies, trust funds, realty groups, and "pro-business" journalists and politicians.

The stock market crash, which has hit particularly hard some of the so-called growth stocks, has also brought the validity of the growth goal into question. Yet the moment we think seriously about it, we must acknowledge that there is no real alternative. A growth company is simply one that is increasing its per share earnings rapidly and consistently. We cannot object to the fact that the market sets a higher value on the stocks of businesses that perform in such a manner. We can only object when they are overvalued even in relation to their rapid growth.

The stagnation in the earnings of so many of our blue-chip companies also accounts for many of the market's recent troubles. This stagnation is due partly to a shift in economic emphasis away from the older, more-or-less standardized industries, such as steel, textiles, railroads, automobiles, industrial machinery, etc., towards more modern research-intensive industries, such as plastics, drugs, missiles, electronics, instruments, etc. *But it also reflects a general slowdown in industrial growth over the last eight years.*

The last decade of American economic and business history breaks down into two sharply contrasting periods. From 1951 to 1953, during the Korean War, we had full employment (average unemployment of 3.1 percent of the civilian labor force) and rapid industrial growth – averaging 7.2 percent a year. From 1954 to 1961, by contrast, we have had a period of slow growth, with industrial output rising only about one-third as fast as in the earlier period, with the average rate of unemployment around 75 percent higher, and with a rising proportion of our industrial capacity lying unused. The average corporate profit after taxes in the

---

EMILE BENOIT *is Professor of International Business at the Columbia Graduate School of Business, consultant to the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and the H. J. Heinz Company, and a Director of the Bettinger Corporation. He was formerly economic attaché with the US embassies in London and Vienna.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dynamic earlier period was 5.3 percent of Gross National Product, whereas the average since 1954 has been only 4.7 percent – a percentage difference equal to $3.3 billions of profits at present levels of GNP.

To get back on the growth track we shall have to begin sensible government budgeting on business-like principles – especially in the matter of the use of debt.

Is Borrowing Immoral?

Progressive and growing businesses do not hesitate to draw upon outside credit resources when such resources can be effectively used and can contribute to sound (i.e., sustainable) expansion and profits, by making possible a sufficient expansion in production and sales, or reduction in unit costs. Bank credit is commonly utilized for financing of expansion in inventories, payrolls, exports, etc., and bonded indebtedness is accepted by sophisticated management for the purchase of new plant and equipment, when this can improve the profit "leverage" of invested equity capital. Corporations have been increasing their debts by $16.6 billion a year since 1953 – an amount sufficient to finance half of new investment in plant and equipment.

Modern businesses do not have emotional attitudes of fear or shame in thus utilizing debt. Debt is viewed not emotionally as an evil, but rationally as a convenience and a tool to be employed wherever, and up to the point, that it can make a useful contribution. Recognizing that the improvident use of credit may be a danger for weak characters, modern business presupposes that a sufficient degree of rationality and self-control for the wise use of debt-financing exists in responsible corporate officials. Particular debts must of course be repaid, but normally old debts are refinanced or new debts acquired, and while some businesses are always in the process of liquidating their debts, others are in the process of acquiring new debt.

This is just as well, since if all debts were suddenly paid off the economy would collapse. Our economy is largely based on debt formation. Our savings are not, one the whole, invested directly in productive enterprises. We do not, most of us, put our spare cash into the stock market. Instead, our personal savings are collected and invested by savings banks, pension funds, insurance companies, and so forth. These institutions are restrained by law and by custom from investing the bulk of our savings in common stock or other equities. Instead, they invest them largely in bank loans, mortgages and bonds. *Somebody must therefore go into debt in order for somebody else's savings to be invested.* The growth of the national income has therefore been pretty closely paralleled by the growth of debt – except during the Great Depression when the national income declined faster than debt could be liquidated. It is also relevant that the nation's money supply – which is itself closely related to the national income – is now largely a by-product of debt formation, since checking deposits (now comprising three quarters of the total money supply) are created mainly as the by-product of bank loans to businesses.

But while corporate debt financing is generally received as normal and entirely acceptable, Federal debt financing has been interpreted by the rentier groups as dangerous, improper and almost immoral – as, at best, a measure of expediency which may be unavoidable in emergencies or in recessions. Political capital has been made out of the size of the budget deficits, as if such deficits were necessarily discreditable; and a gullible public hearing these gibes endlessly repeated has assumed that there must be something in them.

There is one crucial difference in aims between government and business. Government is not – despite "Parkinson's law" – primarily in operation for its own benefit and growth, and is certainly not in operation to make a profit. Its basic purpose is to serve the welfare of the rest of the society – a purpose that can only be a secondary (though not necessarily a negligible) consideration for private business.

Because the effects of government taxing and spending are generally more important in what they do to the rest of the economy than in what they enable the government itself to do, they should be looked at primarily in terms of how they affect the private economy. How much purchasing power do taxes take away from private spenders (consumers and investors)? How many goods and services do government purchases divert from private to public use, and how much do they add to the income stream and to the total demand for private goods and services?

When there is much slack in the economy, increased government expenditures do not take *any* goods and services away from private users, but add to the income stream and to the demand for goods and services produced by private enterprises. Similarly, tax reductions at such a time increase the purchasing power available to private spenders (consumers and businesses) and raise activity in the private sector of the economy. The fact that such measures may involve "deficit financing" and "government borrowing" is not necessarily an argument against them. Just as private business may appropriately accept debt when this enables it to achieve profitable growth, so government may appropriately accept debt when this is the means for profitable growth – not its own growth, of course, but that of the private economy.

The rentier interest has consistently interpreted budget deficits as a sign of runaway spending. In reality, however, between 1953 and 1960 Federal per capita expenditures on goods and services, corrected for price

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

increases, *declined* by 30 percent. On a per capita basis, such expenditures – other than for defense – are now only half what they were back in 1939. The rise in government outlays since 1953 is attributable to a larger population, to the rising cost of goods and services, to increases in social security and other benefits made necessary by inflation, and to increased welfare spending because of spreading unemployment.

Exactly what is a Federal expenditure, receipt or deficit depends of course, on the definition used. The traditional "Administrative Budget" is not well suited to showing the true effects of the Government's expenditures and receipts on the rest of the economy: it omits, for example, social security payroll taxes, and social security expenditures. It also greviously exaggerates the size of the deficits. As indicated in Table 1, the traditional budget shows an average net deficit in the last eight years which is more than three times as high as is indicated by the more comprehensive and carefully designed budget of government outlays and receipts in the National Income and Product Assount.

On the latter basis, it appears (as shown in the table on this page) that in half the years since 1953 the Federal government has been taking away more purchasing power from private spenders (consumers and businesses) than it has been restoring to them by means of its own expenditures and benefit programs. The deficits that have nevertheless been encountered have arisen primarily as a result of a precipitant falloff in the tax base during recessions. Nine-tenths of the total deficits since 1953 have been incurred in the three years of 1954, 1958 and 1961.

If there is one single factor which chiefly accounts for our slow growth since 1953, it is our high tax rates which prematurely choked off our economic revivals by running up large budget surpluses (and curtailing private expenditure) in 1955-57, and 1960. As William Butler, Vice-President of the Chase Manhattan Bank, has shown, the rapid pace of private investment in 1955-57 would not have led to excess capacity if only final demand had risen as projected. The reason it couldn't, as revealed the table on this page, is that it was systematically depleted by budget surpluses. With such surpluses, it will be remembered, government takes away more private purchasing power than it restores. There is *some* offsetting stimulus, to be sure, when a budget surplus is used to retire public debt, since this will, in the case of publicly held debt, raise bank reserves and facilitate bank loans. But this additional lending capacity is not really the equivalent of the actual purchasing power destroyed by the budget surplus, for the opportunity to borrow money that must be repaid is not as expansionary as having the money and purchasing power outright. The net effect of a surplus is therefore deflationary.

The attempt to achieve surpluses whenever possible has not resulted in the avoidance of deficits; it has only assured that deficits when they occurred would be of the "passive" variety – unwillingly accepted, and imposed as a result of a declining or sluggish tax base. With a greater willingness to court "active deficits," deliberately sought as a business stimulus, we might have ended with a much more buoyant economy and with no larger a cumulative deficit than we have now – indeed possibly with a smaller one.

The President understands this. He reminded reporters at his August 1 press conference of the "1958 experience," when there "was no tax cut and there was the largest peacetime deficit in history because of a drop in income levels." However, he added, the possi-

Federal and Corporate Deficits and Industrial Growth

	Federal Budget on National Income and Produce Account (in billions)			*Traditional Administrative Budget Surplus or Deficit (—) (in billions)*	*Rise in Corporate Debts over Previous Year (in billions)*	*Increase in Industrial Output (%)*	*Unemployment as % of Civilian Labor Force*
	Outlays	*Receipts*	*Surplus or Deficit (—)*				
1951-53 Avg.	$69.1	$67.5	—$1.6	—$6.1	$12.4	7.2	3.1
1954	69.6	63.8	—5.8	—3.6	3.3	—6.0	5.6
1955	68.9	72.8	3.8	—2.8	29.3	12.4	4.4
1956	71.8	77.5	5.7	3.8	19.6	3.4	4.2
1957	79.7	81.7	2.0	.6	15.0	1.0	4.3
1958	87.9	78.5	—9.4	—7.0	12.8	—7.0	6.8
1959	91.2	89.4	—1.8	—7.0	22.1	11.2	5.5
1960	92.8	96.0	3.3	2.0	13.4	2.9	5.6
1961	101.4	97.9	—3.6	—6.3	17.5	0.9	6.7
1954-61 Avg.	82.9	82.2	— .7	—2.5	16.6	2.35	5.38

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

bility of tax cuts this year must be considered not only in light of further figures on the state of the economy which he hopes to have by August 10, but also in the light of "the views of the members of the House and Senate." In other words, Mr. Kennedy hesitates to start a fight in Congress with the large bloc which still regards government borrowing to aid the economy as a concession to original sin. The President is also, it is said, being prodded by the Treasury to preserve the tax-cut for use as a "sweetener" next year to help win acceptance of the proposed tax reform bill.

Prosperity vs Reform

Some of the tax reforms already proposed by the Treasury seem unsound to most business critics, including the writer; other proposed reforms may find more ready acceptance. But none of them, by the wildest stretch of imagination, could contribute anything like $30 to $40 billion a year to the national income – and that is what we are now losing by not being at full production. To hold up the immediate and urgent restoration of full national prosperity, in order to help put over a particular (and highly controversial) set of tax reforms, would illustrate to perfection the bureaucratic cast of mind and its sense of priorities.

But, as I have implied, the more basic difficulty is the implacable hostility in some Congressional circles to government debt. Against the truly fundamentalist position on this issue it is futile to argue; we have to deal here with an irrational phobia rather than with a reasoned conviction. But where the opposition is rational to any degree, discussion is possible.

The notion, for example, that deficit financing leads to government extravagance and rising taxes, is clearly inapplicable when we are discussing deficit-financed *tax-cuts*. Of course, revenues have to be raised to pay the interest charges on any increase in government debt, but the interest charge will be only a small percentage of the tax reduction, and the government may even recapture a large part of *that* by having the bonds sold to the Federal Reserve System, 90 percent of the profits of which flow back to the government.

The public also assumes, despite recent contrary evidence, that deficit financing is necessarily dangerous for price stability. In fact, during the 1951 to 1953 period of heavy deficits and rapid growth, the price level (as measured by the broadest and truest gauge, the implicit Gross National Product deflators) rose only *1.5 percent a year*. On the other hand, during the 1953 to 1961 periods, where average net deficits were less than a third as large, prices rose on the average at *2 percent a year*. It is a striking fact that prices went up slightly more in the recession years of 1954 and 1958 – when demand and production declined – than in the recovery years of 1955 and 1959, when demand and output were sharply up. All of which leads to the conclusion that a rise in output tends to be *disinflationary*, and that deficit financing, *especially if it is used to expand production of consumer goods and services by utilizing unemployed manpower and industrial capacity*, need not be inflationary at all. To be sure, the upward creep of costs will continue in any event, whether we have too much demand or too little, but this can't be helped by choking off production. It can be helped only by setting up self-imposed or externally-imposed restraints on inflationary wage-price settlements.

Recently a new kind of objection to deficit financing has been gaining currency: it would undermine foreign confidence in the US dollar and accentuate our balance of payment difficulties. Yet, as I tried to show in a recent book, *Europe at Sixes and Sevens: The Common Market, the Free Trade Association, and the US*, the real situation may be almost the opposite. The slowdown in our growth rates and productivity gains, provoked by too restrictive fiscal policies, may have forced us into an increase in unit production costs, and may have thus weakened the international competitiveness of American manufacturers.

Europe, on the other hand, appears to owe its remarkable business progress in recent years (industrial output in the Common Market countries has increased four times as fast as in the US since 1953) partly to more expansionist fiscal policies which have enabled its industries to achieve the overhead cost economies of full-capacity utilization.

Recent research suggests that if European and US central government budgets are rearranged on a roughly comparable "cash" basis, the average deficit, from 1954 to 1959 inclusive, as a percentage of the Gross National Product appears as follows: US 0.3 percent, UK 0.6 percent, West Germany 0.4 percent, France 4.5 percent. Thus, contrary to what is widely supposed, our European competitors have resorted, somewhat more freely than we have, to the use of deficit financing when necessary to stimulate their economies, and have avoided with more care than we the running of budgetary surpluses destructive of private purchasing power.

The Bank for International Settlements at Basle, which closely mirrors European bank sentiment, expressed the view in its last annual report that an increased use of deficit financing would benefit the US economy and the position of the dollar, if accompanied by firm credit policies preserving high interest rates, thereby avoiding an outflow of short term capital from the US in search of higher interest rates abroad. It is also remarkable that the United States Chamber of Commerce, which has been much concerned with the US balance of payments and highly condemnatory of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

deficit financing in the past, has just repeated its call for a large tax cut, even at the expense of an increase in the budget deficit.

Still, if one assumes a tax cut is desirable, he is left with some difficult practical questions: How much? What type? How can it be done quickly? The questions are interrelated.

The amount of tax cuts required to provide a given economic boost depends in part on how much of it goes to the average consumer, and how much to the well-to-do and to businesses. But the decision as to who should get the benefits of a tax cut is precisely the kind that Congress can't settle until after a protracted struggle in which various interest groups battle for their own advantage. Unfortunately, even a month's Congressional delay in debating a tax cut could be very damaging if it led to a loss of economic momentum as the prospects of another recession became stronger and business investment fell off in anticipation. It would be far safer to proceed with temporary tax cuts that would maintain our momentum while we are debating our best long-term course.

Such a temporary tax cut should ideally have three characteristics: 1) Be administratively simple to apply and remove; 2) Have the minimum possible effect in changing the burden of taxation as between the various interest groups so as to avoid the need for Congressional controversy over who gets the advantages; and 3) Be clearly marked temporary, and intended to stimulate the economy rather than to influence the distribution of income.

I suggest that these criteria might be met by what I call "income tax holidays". These would exempt all individuals and corporations from income or profit taxes for one or more pay periods as required. Administration would be extraordinarily easy. Withholding taxes would simply be stopped for a designated two week payroll period and at the end of the tax year, when making out their tax returns, individuals and corporate tax payers would be allowed to reduce their tax obligations by a corresponding fraction (i.e., 2 weeks/52 weeks equals 3.8 percent). No changes in normal tax or withholding rates would be required, and the "holiday" could be renewed as often as experience showed it to be necessary and desirable.

Would a Cut Really Help?

How would this work in practice and what would be its effects?

Let us assume that personal and corporate income taxes in calendar year 1962 will be around $70 billion. Three two-week tax holidays would then reduce these tax liabilities by $8 billion, roughly two-thirds of which might be in personal taxes, and one-third in corporate taxes. On the basis of the econometric model developed by Professor Suits at the University of Michigan (which has been highly successful in forecasting), it could be estimated that these tax cuts would raise the national output (GNP) by about possibly $8.3 billion, even assuming conservatively that corporate tax cuts have only half as dynamic an effect per dollar as personal tax cuts. Nearly 650,000 extra jobs would also be generated. The revenue loss to the government would be not $8 billion, but only around $4.5 billion – since the tax cuts would stimulate a rise in income and tax yields.

But would the public actually spend as much of their tax savings as this estimate assumes? It is becoming fashionable in certain recherche circles to express a condescending skepticism about people's willingness to spend extra money if they had it. Reporters leap on the offhand comments of housewives, to the effect that if they had a few dollars extra a week they do not think they would buy anything "important" with it, but just fritter it away on day-to-day items. But $8 billion of small purchases are of economic importance too, like $8 billion of large purchases. Furthermore, the newly reemployed will certainly buy big-ticket items with their reestablished credit, and those benefiting from higher dividends and capital gains on their securities seem likely to buy luxuries. Obviously, the average housewife is not readily able to imagine the full ramifications of a sudden increase in income not only for her own family, but for all of her neighbors across the nation at the same time.

On a somewhat more scientific basis, it is worth noticing that the percentage of income after taxes spent by American consumers has remained extraordinarily stable, varying only between 92 and 94% in every year since 1950, and never dropping below 91% in any single quarter. A careful study of windfall additions to income through unexpected National Service Life Insurance dividends payments in 1950 found that unexpected extra income was spent in about the same proportions as other income. Other budget studies indicate that consumers normally spend two-thirds of any *additional* income they receive within a year.

Such tax holidays would probably not, by themselves, restore full production and employment. They would, however, restore the economy's forward motion toward these goals, and give the Congress time enough to assess our long-term needs, to plug loopholes, and to consider the incentive and disincentive as well as the equity aspects of changing our tax patterns. They would also confer a tangible and easy-to-understand benefit on virtually every breadwinner and every business, and would, I am willing to wager, be extraordinarily popular with the electorate and hence not entirely devoid of appeal to the Congress this year.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

II–It Would Be Wiser to Wait

by Senator Paul Douglas

Many highly placed economists, of whom Professor Benoit is one, and many business leaders are urging a tax cut now in order to avert a predicted severe recession and "to get the economy moving again." If we were in a recession or if there were clear and unmistakable indications that we were about to enter one, I would strongly favor the right kind of cut, for that is the quickest way to stimulate demand and consequently production and employment. That is why in February, 1958, when the reality of a recession was clear, I urged such a cut concentrated upon reducing the taxes on durable goods and building up consumer purchasing power. This recommendation was not only opposed by the Eisenhower Administration but also by the leaders of my own party in the Congress.

It is certainly true that the rate of recovery in the economy has slowed down and in some sectors has come to a stop. Unemployment is still regrettably high. Orders for capital goods have dipped. But visible unemployment has not increased. It was indeed slightly lower in July (5.3 percent) than in the preceding months. I do not place too great reliance on this apparent decrease since it may have been due to the margin of error inherent in the sampling process. Certainly, also, there is a large amount of concealed unemployment consisting mainly of young people who have dropped out of school and failed to get a job and who have not become a part of the working force. But there is no evidence that unemployment or part-time employment has increased. Nor is there any turn-down in industrial production. Indeed this index has gone up from 113.5 in January to 117.8 in June.

What then about the index so dear to modern economists, familiarly known as the Gross National Product? This amounted to an annual rate of $545 billion for the second quarter of this year or an increase of $4 billion over the figure for the first quarter and of nearly $9 billion above the last quater of 1961. We are certainly going to fall far short of the official estimate by the Council of Economic Advisers that the GNP for calendar 1962 would be no less than $570 billion. This falling-short will, in itself, create a large fiscal deficit for fiscal 62-63, which may reach from $7 to $10 billions. Thus there will be an appreciable "built-in" stabilizing force which will be particularly strong during the next half year. But here again there is no evidence of any down-turn. Quite the contrary. Disposable personal income at an annual rate is also up – $6 billion over the first quarter of 1962 and $9 billion over the last quarter of 1961.

The truth of the matter is that economists, like the speculators and the general public, are subject to alternate waves of excessive optimism and pessimism. Most of those who are now gloomy in August were hilariously bullish in January. The fact of the matter is that economic forecasting is in no sense an exact science and the percentage of error in such predictions is extremely high.

In economic policy, as in battle, we need to remember two basic principles. The first is not to fire on the enemy prematurely. William Prescott was quite right when he shouted to the continentals at Bunker Hill, "Don't fire until you see the whites of their eyes."

The second precept is one every officer from second lieutenant to general should know and act upon, namely not to commit one's reserves too early. What at first seems to be a main attack often turns out to be merely a diversionary one. If a nervous commander rushes his reserves in to counter an initial skirmish, he will have nothing left to back up his line when the real attack comes. In Churchill's "Their Finest Hour," he tells how when in the early summer of 1940 the Germans broke through the French line at Sedan in the Ardennes, the French did not make the expected counterattack though the Germans had outrun their supply lines. "Where," asked Churchill of General Gamelin, the French commander, "is your strategic reserve?" To this Gamelin replied, "*Aucune*" – there was none. Let us not make Gamelin's mistake. For if we do not have a recession, a tax cut and resultant deficit might well amount to between $15 and $20 billion. I have sufficient Scotch blood in my veins not to welcome such a deficit as being good in itself and I think I am aware of the political consequences which would inevitably follow a deficit of this size.

And if even after such a cut a recession or depression were to follow, what would we have in reserve?

Finally, a tax cut now would inevitably make tax reform next year impossible. Our tax-system is shot full of loopholes and injustices which enable certain groups to pay far less in taxes than others with equal income. The 27½ percent depletion allowance on the income from oil and gas is the most notorious of these. But there are many other abuses such as stock options, the improper use of capital gains instead of ordinary income rates, the evasion and avoidance of taxes on

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dividends and interest, excessive deductions for entertainment, travel, lobbying and other prerequisites, and many others.

The Kennedy administration made a mild beginning on this reform last year when it proposed to withhold the basic tax on income from dividends and interest, as has been done for twenty years in the case of wages and salaries, and to plug certain minor loopholes. To sweeten this reform for the business interests, it proposed a tax cut of 7 percent of the net investment in personal property in fields other than building. After a year and a half we are now nearing the end of this struggle. The result is that while the sweetener has been accepted in a vulgarized form most of the tax reforms have been rejected. The one remaining hope for thorough-going tax reform in the next year is to accompany it with a cut in personal income and other taxes. But if we use up the cut this year, there will be nothing left with which to purchase tax reform next year. This is precisely why some business groups are urging a tax cut now.

Short Term vs Long Term Solutions

Some advocates of a tax cut are shifting from the argument that such a reduction is necessary to prevent a recession to the prescription that it is the best medicine for a sluggish economy. But any such stimulation would be temporary and the effects would soon wear off. Is it proposed to make continual injections of monetary purchasing through governmental deficits in order to stimulate the capitalistic system? This was the basic method followed by the New Deal, and it may have been justified in the 1930's by the severity of the depression and the paucity of economic analysis about the causes of and remedies for low level employment and production. But after a quarter-century we should know better.

If, because of monopoly, partial monopoly and imperfect competition, the sum total of price tags on the potential output of industry is greater than the total monetary purchasing power in the pockets of buyers, the remedy would seem to be to reduce prices to the level of incomes rather than to build up incomes to the level of prices by the hypodermic injections of continuous government deficits. But to effect this we need a vigorous pro-competition and anti-monopoly policy which even a liberal government shies away from and which most of the advocates of free enterprise oppose.

The best immediate remedy for sluggishness as well as for the prevention of recession is what is termed "monetary ease," or a lower interest rate. This has long been a truism amongst qualified economists. It was admitted last winter by the chairman of The President's Council of Economic Advisors, Walter Heller, when he testified before the Joint Economic Committee. But as the growth rate fell off and predictions of a recession deepened, Chairman Martin of the Federal Reserve Board sold rather than bought government bonds. He has consequently forced interest rates up during these last months and has thus repressed investment and employment. This has been one of the causes of the present sluggishness, and now Mr. Martin and the European bankers, whom he loves to quote, are prescribing more of the same as a cure. This has led a wag to suggest that a new Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board would be worth more than a $10 billion tax cut. With proper accompanying measures, such a reduction in long-term interest rates need not create an untoward flow of gold. But that, as Kipling used to remark, is another story.

There are indeed clear evidences that the failure of the Federal Reserve in recent years to let the money supply increase at the normal growth rate has kept interest rates above the marginal productivity of capital and hence has exerted a permanent depressing influence on the economy. In a similar fashion, monopoly, quasi-monopoly and imperfect competition, by keeping prices above and production below what they would be under competitive conditions, has dampened down consumption, production and employment. And with a high rate of idle capital caused by a lack of effective demand, it would hardly seem that a tax bonus on investment would be an adequate stimulus in that field. It would be well for the President's advisers to return to these simple truths rather than to urge tax cuts at this time.

But if we should be drifting into a recession, then in default of other action, I would favor a tax cut of the right kind, namely, one which would be concentrated on building up consumer demand. If that is shoved up, then investment will follow. But a wrong kind of a tax cut at the wrong time would ultimately set us back rather than move us forward.

I also believe the President should be armed with the discretionary authority he has asked for to cut taxes if the figures on employment and production justify it. But he should not be hurried into doing so by trigger-happy economists.

Senator Douglas, *a member of the Banking and Currency, and Finance Committees, and Vice Chairman of the Joint Economic Committee, was for many years Professor of Economics at the University of Chicago, and is a former president of the American Economic Association. Last year, the American Political Science Association gave him its Congressional Distinguished Service award, describing him as a man of "rigorous intellect," responsible, independent, defender of human rights, and consistent advocate of social progress.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

JULES FEIFFER

"HOW TO WIN ARGUMENTS ON YOUR SUMMER TOUR OF EUROPE"
OR
"A GUIDE TO CONVERSATIONAL COUNTERFORCE"

ENGLAND: WHEN THEY BRING UP HERMAN KAHN, EDWARD TELLER AND NUCLEAR DETERRENCE (85 POINTS), COUNTER WITH ROY WELENSKY, SOUTHERN RHODESIA AND THE CONTINUED SALE OF ARMS TO SOUTH AFRICA. (90 POINTS)

FRANCE: WHEN THEY BRING UP THE C.I.A., CIVIL RIGHTS AND THE RADICAL RIGHT (80 POINTS), COUNTER WITH THE O.A.S., SUPPRESSION OF THE PRESS AND PLASTIC BOMBS. (85 POINTS)

RUSSIA: WHEN THEY BRING UP THE STOCK MARKET, THE DECLINE OF CAPITALISM AND THE CUBAN FIASCO (75 POINTS), COUNTER WITH HUNGARY, FAILING CROPS AND MAO TSE-TUNG. (85 POINTS)

GERMANY: WHEN THEY BRING UP ALLIED INDECISION ON WEST BERLIN (35 POINTS), YOU MAY COUNTER WITH LATENT NAZISM AND THE FEAR OF A NEW HITLER - BUT IT WILL SCORE YOU NO POINTS - THEY HAVE NEVER HEARD OF EITHER.

A FINAL WORD OF ADVICE: THE BEST WAY TO ESCAPE TROUBLE ON YOUR TOUR OF EUROPE IS TO AVOID SPEAKING TO ANYONE WHO UNDERSTANDS ENGLISH.

The Hall Syndicate, Inc

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

No Use Talking

by John Updike

"Of my own writing have been as usual trying this that and the other thing, finishing little or nothing. Most of it has hung somewhere between satire and what I suppose would be called 'moralistic' writing: I wish I could get both washed out of my system and get anywhere near what the real job of art is: attempt to state things as they seem to be, minus personal opinion of any sort. No use talking: for various reasons of weakness & lack of time I continually fall far short of, i.e. betray, things I know better than to betray."

Letters of James Agee to Father Flye
(Braziller; $5)

Had James Agee been more productive of the poetic fiction he seemed destined to write, this book of letters – written over a period of 30 years to his boyhood teacher and lifelong friend the Episcopalian priest James Harold Flye – presumably would not have been published. Both the flap copy and Robert Phelps' introduction invite us to lament over Agee's aborted and tormented career. Phelps quotes an especially precocious early letter, written from Harvard, and asks, "How then did Agee do with his gifts what he did do? Why did he not write a dozen Chekhov-Shakespeare novels [the letter describes such an ambition] instead of a quarter of a million unsigned words for *Time* and *Fortune*?"

Why indeed? It is a good question; yet to ask it, in the form of a five-dollar book, is to reduce Agee to a question-mark. A subtle insult hides in this homage. Phelps explains, "In Europe, works are all that are required of [authors], and they are honored accordingly. Here they must also use their bodies and personal histories and failures (above all, their failures) to make us *emblems*," and goes on to install Agee in the American pantheon "with these letters as his testament, and the image of his scattered vocation as his didactic emblem."

Rather unwittingly, these sentences take the pulse of a very sick literary situation. A fever of self-importance is upon American writing. Popular expectations of what literature should provide have risen so high that failure is the only possible success, and pained incapacity the only acceptable proof of sincerity. When ever in prose has slovenliness been so esteemed, ineptitude so cherished? In the present apocalyptic atmosphere, the loudest sinner is most likely to be saved; Fitzgerald's crack-up is his ticket to Heaven, Salinger's silence his claim on our devotion. The study of literature threatens to become a kind of paleontology of failure, and criticism a supercilious psychoanalysis of authors. I resist Agee's canonization by these unearthly standards. Authors *should* be honored only for their works. If Agee is to be remembered, it should be for his few, uneven, hard-won successes. The author of the best pages of *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* and *A Death in the Family* owes no apology to posterity. As to "the quarter of a million unsigned words," surely a culture is enhanced, rather than disgraced, when men of talent and passion undertake anonymous and secondary tasks. Excellence in the great things is built upon excellence in the small; Agee's undoing was not his professionalism but his blind, despairing belief in an ideal amateurism.

The truth is that we would not think of Agee as a failure if he did not insist on it himself. "Meanwhile I am thirty and have missed irretrievably all the trains I should have caught." "Or briefly, though the impulse is OK, / I haven't, really, a damned thing to say." "I am depressed because whether I am to live a very short time or relatively longer time depends . . . on whether or not I can learn to be the kind of person I am not and have always detested; and because, knowing my own character pretty well, I know pretty well what my chances are, even though I will try." These letters brim with self-accusations. "I have a fuzzy, very middle-class, and in a bad sense of the word, Christian mind, and a very clouded sensibility." "I knew I had some self-pity; I even defend it, in moderation. But I didn't realize how much I have, and still don't sufficiently." "Another [fault] is the whole habit of physical self-indulgence; the only degree of asceticism or even moderation I've ever given a hoot for, let alone tried briefly to practice, has been whatever might sharpen enjoyment. . . . Another is in some way caring much too little whether I live or die." ". . . I have nothing good to say about myself. . . ."

Of course, in writing to Father Flye, Agee is addressing not only a priest but the embodiment of his boyhood aspirations. Agee was religious in preferring self-disgust and even self-destruction

Pastoral

Peace for this poor earth, this plant
Torn out by the wind; the gardeners sleep
Near dreaming dogs in swimless swirls of intellect,
The rivers flood a wreckage
Of soldiers on our common farms,
In whose waters weeping,
We see like Narcissus our dead eyes;
While naked earth steals naked to our arms,
And the toad can hardly keep from leaping.

STANLEY MOSS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to any downward adjustment of these aspirations. "I would certainly prefer death to reconciling myself." Among the things he refused to be reconciled to was his own nature as a writer.

Alcohol – which appears in the first Harvard letters ("On the whole, an occasional alcoholic bender satisfies me fairly well") and figures in almost every letter thereafter – was Agee's faithful ally in his "enormously strong drive, on a universally broad front, toward self-destruction." But I think his real vice, as a writer, was talk. "I seem, and regret it and hate myself for it, to be able to say many more things I want to in talking than in writing." He describes his life at Harvard as "an average of 3½ hours sleep per night; 2 or 3 meals per day. Rest of the time: work, or time spent with friends. About 3 nights a week I've talked all night. . . ." And near the end of his life, in Hollywood: "I've spent probably 30 or 50 evenings talking alone most of the night with Chaplin, and he has talked very openly and intimately." And what are these letters but a flow of talk that nothing but total fatigue could staunch? "The trouble is, of course, that I'd like to write you a pretty indefinitely long letter, and talk about everything under the sun we *would* talk about, if we could see each other. And we'd probably talk five or six hundred pages. . . ."

He simply preferred conversation to composition. The private game of translating life into language, or fitting words to things, did not sufficiently fascinate him. His eloquence naturally dispersed itself in spurts of interest and jets of opinion. In these letters, the extended, "serious" projects he wishes he could get to – narrative poems in an "amphibious style," "impressionistic" histories of the United States, an intricately parodic life of Jesus, a symphony of interchangeable slang, a novel on the atom bomb – have about them the grandiose, gassy quality of talk. They are the kind of books, rife with Great Ideas, that a *Time* reviewer would judge "important." The poignant fact about Agee is that he was not badly suited to working for Henry Luce.

He half-knew it. "The only writing I do which approaches decency is on this job [for *Fortune*] – and on other stuff I seem to be pretty well congealed." Twelve years later, Agee *wants* "to write a weekly column for some newspaper or magazine – very miscellaneous but in general, detailed topical analysis of the very swift and sinister decline and perversion of all that might be meant by individualism . . . etc., etc." In praising Kafka, he observes curiously that Kafka appears "in a way totally uninterested in 'literature' or 'art' except in so far as they are his particular instrument for studying, questioning and suggesting more sharply than he otherwise could." Whereas Agee was far too "much moved and excited by Ideas – related with general existence and with art. . . ." Ideas – particularly the American idea of the Great Novel, literature as a Puritan Absolute – obsessed Agee, and hounded him out of contentment with his genius, which was for spontaneous, gregarious commentary rather than patient, eremitical invention.

In the last of these letters, mostly written from the hospital bed where his overstrained heart had taken him, there are hints of reconciliation. His work with the movies – the coöperative art *par excellence* – affects him rather cheerfully. His prose takes on crispness. The tortuous, grinding note of self-reproach diminishes. Looking back on his career, he is pleasantly "surprised I have gotten done even the little that I have." He coherently and masterfully sketches several script ideas – a scene from *Candide*, a moral (*and* satiric) film fantasy about elephants. His versatility, his ardent interest in "that that and the other thing," were beginning to find channels; perhaps there *was* some use in talking. But his body was ruined, and abruptly his magnanimous spirit and eager intelligence vanished from the world of American letters, to whose Manichaean stresses he had been so sensitive, and whose opportunities he had been so ingeniously reluctant to seize.

ARCHITECTURE

Pan Am's Glass House

Twenty new office buildings have risen in the past two years to scrape the sky of New York, but only two of them stand out: The Pan Am building, which straddles Park Avenue, virtually on top of Grand Central Station is conspicuous for its ugliness and arrogant disregard of its surroundings. It is the world's largest of the mushrooming crop of so-called investment buildings, erected by speculators to yield rent profits, which inundate our cities with bad architecture. The Chase Manhattan Bank, way downtown, in contrast, strikes the eye as another exceptionally handsome corporation palace which brings a new urbanity and elegance to Lower Manhattan. It is an expression of the kind of enlightened self-interest which is the only hope for our urban environment. Bombastic words. But it is the buildings themselves which speak them.

The Pan Am building has been criticized and attacked from the day the just deceased Erwin Wolfson announced this project three years ago. What bothered planners, architects and some others who care about such things, was not aesthetics so much as the prospect that his building would add some 30,000 office workers plus their visitors to already badly congested mid-town Manhattan. The building's realtors now tell me that the actual working population of the building will only be 17,000. And architectural editor Emerson Goble, a staunch defender of the project, is right when he says that it is, after all, the purpose of a city to concentrate people. From the time they arrive in the morning until they go home, they won't crowd the subways or fight for taxis if they can walk or just take the elevator to conduct their business. The trouble is that the estimated 250,000 persons who will push their way through Pan Am's underground concourse, which will connect the station with 45th Street and upper Park Avenue, will have to keep walking. Nowhere in this skyscraping jungle is there a place for a bench, a tree, a fountain, or, for that matter, a breath of fresh air, until you get up to Bryant Park behind the Public Library

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

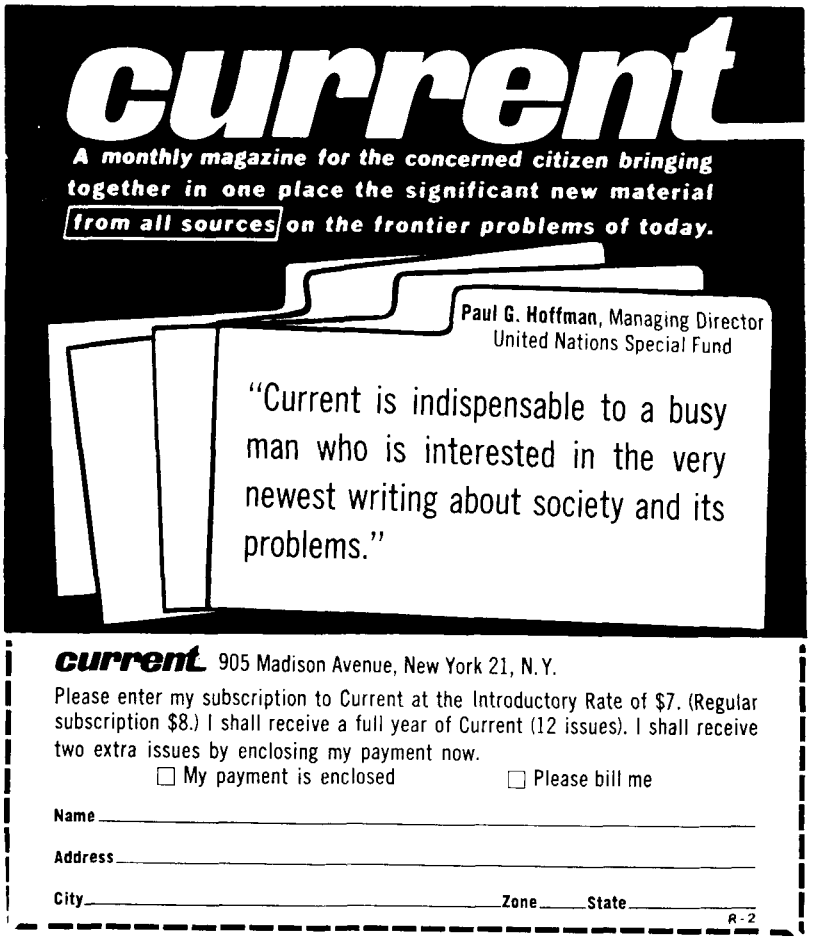
or that delightful little plaza in front of the Seagram building. But this is the uncorrectable mistake of the architects Reed and Stem who built Grand Central Station in 1903 and failed to endow it with a forecourt in the manner of the great European railroad stations and the Renaissance palaces they copied. Wolfson, at any rate, was undaunted by the charge of reckless crowding. And New York's authorities raised no objections to his scheme which was, of course, only to deliver the greatest possible amount of rentable office space for the money his British backers have put up.

So there it stands, bang! A $100 million slab which looks as though some malicious seven-league monster had nailed up one of our finest avenues with Gargantuan boards just to spite us. The thing is two blocks wide and 59 stories high and will be completed in February, 1963. The slab is slightly tapered on both ends in an attempt to make its width seem less brutal. The attempt has failed. As seen from the avenue, the reclining angles which on the floor plan give the building the shape of an elongated octagonal, are too shallow to be readily discernible. The attempt is further frustrated by the strong horizontal emphasis of ribbon after ribbon of small windows, the monotony of which is broken only by two bands or grooves, created by somewhat recessed stories, which girdle the building. The horizontal window ribbon stripes make the bulk, as any weight-conscious female knows, seem even bulkier. The foreshortened floors further add to this dilemma, much as plump little girls sometimes do when they lace their belts too tightly.

But Pan Am is no nymphet, plump or otherwise; it is a disgustingly fat, complacent giant which, seen from uptown, seems to take sadistic pleasure in dwarfing the rather cute gilded spire of the New York General Tower. Seen from downtown, it appropriates the pseudo-Renaissance façade of the Grand Central Station as though it were its own. This insult, however, is a trifle compared to the injury the building does to Park Avenue. The vista is blocked. This is particularly sad for upper Park Avenue which, since the last war, has turned into the most exciting metropolitan thoroughfare modern architecture has yet created. Pan Am now casts its inescapable shadow over the lively shimmer of these soaring glass façades which include New York's finest modern structures – Skidmore, Owings & Merrill's Lever House and Mies van der Rohe's and Philip Johnson's Seagram building. It is true that some of the other crystal palaces on this stretch of Park Avenue are only mediocre echoes of these masterpieces. But for once an important American street began to assume a consistent architectural style and thereby a pleasing harmony.

It is therefore a bitter irony that the leading proponent of that harmony and one of the fathers of that style, together with one of the most sensitive younger missionaries of modern architecture, should have participated in perpetrating the Pan Am folly. None less than Walter Gropius and Pietro Belluschi acted as consultants to Wolfson's architect, Richard Roth of Emery Roth and Sons. Gropius' Fagus factory of 1911, eight years before he founded the Bauhaus, marked the beginning of the glass curtain wall structures which have since been labeled "the international style." Driven from Germany by the Nazis, Gropius helped introduce it as head of the architecture school at Harvard and, since his retirement there, is all the more busy contributing to its dynamic evolution. Belluschi adopted the new architecture to a number of churches and other buildings, particularly in the Northwest, which proved that it could successfully express regional characteristics. He now heads the architecture department at MIT.

Surprisingly, this team departed from its own lithe, glassy style when it designed Pan Am. The design tends toward the now more fashionable "new brutalism" which views architecture not like the "international style" as lightly enclosed space, but as abstractly sculptured mass. But it does so with little conviction. One suspects that, smarting under the criticism of "international style glass boxes," the architects' – or was it the investors'? – primary motive was to be different at all


current
A monthly magazine for the concerned citizen bringing together in one place the significant new material from all sources on the frontier problems of today.
Paul G. Hoffman, Managing Director
United Nations Special Fund
"Current is indispensable to a busy man who is interested in the very newest writing about society and its problems."

current 905 Madison Avenue, New York 21, N.Y.

Please enter my subscription to Current at the Introductory Rate of $7. (Regular subscription $8.) I shall receive a full year of Current (12 issues). I shall receive two extra issues by enclosing my payment now.

☐ My payment is enclosed ☐ Please bill me

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Zone ____ State _____

A-2

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cost. At any rate, they can't possibly be happy with their handiwork which, unfortunately, will outlive their apologies. Roth is very frank about it: "In a free enterprise economy," he said not long ago, "architecture mirrors the society in which we live. Why don't we admit that we are living in an uncontrolled society – or at least one controlled only by money and the tax structure. . . . The architect designs to his client's specifications." Gropius has reportedly said that he yielded only to the temptation to do his first big skyscraper. Belluschi holds that it is an architect's duty to give assistance to any client who asks for it.

Not much of the architects' advice was accepted, however. Their first scheme was rejected as uneconomical. It didn't yield enough rentable square feet. Later, the architects insisted upon emphasizing the window frames. But the kind of sash they wanted would have cost $60,000 more. So the builder decided they wouldn't be seen high up, anyway. The sashes are now only on the lower floors. The architects wanted the marble lobby columns round, but square ones proved $100,000 cheaper. Square they are. And so it went throughout the job.

Luckily, there are clients who take a more responsible view of building economics and the art of architecture. One of them is David Rockefeller of the Chase Manhattan Bank. He gave his architects, Skidmore, Owings & Merrill, with Gordon Bunshaft in charge of design, carte blanche, more or less, to work in the bank's best interest. SOM, as the firm is known in the trade, dealt it with superior skill and created an inspiring and efficient total environment from the generous site plan down to the last door knob and ash tray.

The new Chase, two blocks from Wall Street, is not a sensationally original building which every roadside hot dog stand will aim to copy tomorrow. With it, SOM merely carried their own "international style" success of Lever House and their other corporation palaces to yet another quiet triumph. It brings to mind Mies van der Rohe's dictum that God is in the details. Almost stark in its simplicity, this 60-story glass tower, well articulated by strong exterior aluminum-covered columns, proves again that the most straightforward and functional solution is inevitably also the most handsome.

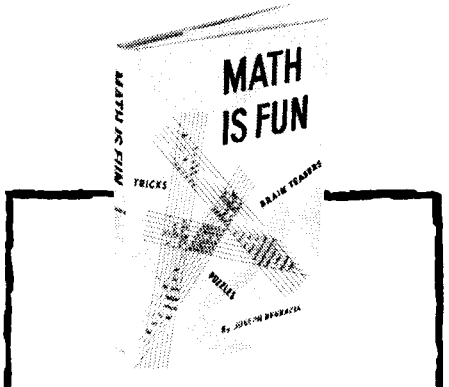
On the skyline, Chase is a calm statement of solidity and strength. Its most creative architectural contribution, however, is on the ground where it opens up the Wall Street canyon to sunshine. In contrast to the greedy Pan Am, it donates 70 percent of its two-and-a-half acre site (which cost up to $10 million per acre) to what August Heckscher has called "the public happiness." Yet, the not-yet-completed Chase Manhattan Plaza, with its pool and trees enclosed by benches, is no giveaway program. The architects' design logic could prove that concentrating all the bank's offices and facilities, plus extra space for expansion and rental, in a single, slim tower is, in the long run, more efficient and economical than covering the ground with buildings which would then require setbacks and costly, as well as ugly ziggurats. By placing the supporting columns outside the slab, all floor space, is uninterupted, flexible and flooded with daylight.

To make this site plan possible, SOM and Chase persuaded the city to swap one block of street against additional traffic space on four others. To make the plaza and surrounding area attractive, they persuaded neighboring building owners to remodel and spruce up. Going further, they sparked a comprehensive Lower Manhattan renewal program which is now underway.

Chase's great accomplishment is that after six years of straining for perfection on the part of myriad specialists it managed like few other buildings to bring the demands of business efficiency, engineering and art into graceful harmony. In its comfortable spaciousness, and not just because of its sumptuous materials and museum-quality art displays, it is a thoroughly luxurious building. The cost reflects this. As against an average of $30 per square foot for most New York office buildings (Pan Am won't reveal its cost), Chase paid $45 a square foot. Yet as do Seagram, Union Carbide and other corporations, who built themselves top quality buildings, Chase Manhattan finds that its investment pays. This is not just a matter of the intangibles of good will and public relations, attested to by the crowds which trail Chase's attractive young ladies on building tours. It pays in hard cash brought in by rentals, increased efficiency, tax write-offs and a host of other complex factors.

Among the most important of these are the investment returns earned from the development and upgrading of already highly valuable real estate. Or, in plainer words, the tangible value of making downtown more attractive and desirable for people. And this is where the speculative building investors with their cheap designs make their mistake. They may get their money back faster. But in the long run they depress their environment and ours. And everybody loses.

WOLF VON ECKARDT



MATH IS FUN

By Joseph Degrazia, Ph.D.

Here is a treasury of brain-teasers. You need not be a mathematical genius to solve these problems and puzzles. What you need is to know how to THINK LOGICALLY—how to REASON. This is practically a "course" in applied logic and reasoning—besides being an immense amount of fun that will keep you absorbed for many hours. You will find not only that MATH IS FUN, but also that learning math can be fun!

CONTENTS: Trifles—On the Borderline of Mathematics—Faded Documents—Cryptograms—How Old Are Mary and Ann?—Wolf, Goat and Cabbage—and Other Odd Coincidences—Clock Puzzles—Trouble Resulting from the Last Will and Testament—Speed Puzzles—Railroad Shunting Problems—Agricultural Problems—Shopping Puzzles—Whimsical Numbers—Playing with Squares—Miscellaneous Problems—Problems of Arrangement—Problems and Games—Solutions. ***Many delightful and helpful illustrations***

Solutions where needed

Large Book • 159 Pages • 159 Hours of Fun

$2.95 • *5-Day Money-Back Guarantee*

EMERSON BOOKS, Inc.

Dept. 476-M, 251 W. 19 St., N. Y. 11

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

John Updike's *most recent book is* Pigeon Feathers *and other stories.* Stanley Moss *is preparing his first volume of poems.* Wolf Von Eckardt *is a freelance writer on architectural subjects.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ART

Jim Crow on the Beach

Continuing my scholarly investigation of art and Ladies, with special interest on the mutual effects produced by simultaneous exposure to open air, I recently journeyed to Virginia Beach, Va., home of Alan Shepard, the space man, and of a long and lovely beach whence the community takes its name and most of its income. Here I found to my surprise that in the right latitude Ladies can mix with art and come out on the wrong side not only of art, but on the wrong side also of grave social issues. In this particular latitude the only social issue is that of integration-segregation and to my astonishment The Seventh Annual Boardwalk Art Show turned out to be for whites only. The astonishment was not due solely to my native naïveté: I have some acquaintance with most of the important Southern exhibitions and as far as I know there isn't one of them that draws the color line. The difference, obviously, goes back to the main theme we are developing in this research: the big exhibitions at Atlanta, Richmond and Chattanooga, to name three, are all run by professionals; at Virginia Beach, the Ladies did it all themselves and with unerring instinct embraced immorality, stupidity and Jim Crow.

Actually the exhibition had been Jim Crow since it began, six years ago, but the secret had been well kept. The local art association in charge didn't advertise what they were doing, but what they were doing was this: to get into the show an artist had to write for an application, then send in the application with a $5 fee, in return for which he received an allotment of space on the Boardwalk for a five day weekend in mid-July; what the Ladies did was screen the original letters, guessing at who was and who wasn't a Negro and simply not answering suspect applicants. In the South this is not as difficult as you might think, but for six years they lived in terror that some New York Negro might sneak into the show in epistolary disguise. The show, reputed to be the largest event of its kind on the coast, attracts artists from New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore as well as Virginia and Carolina cities; more than 200 artists normally show over 2500 works; last year's sales amounted to almost $18,000.

One local artist, Kenneth Harris, after helping to found the event, withdrew on the race question. Others have followed his example as they found out what was going on. This year a Norfolk Negro applied, A. B. Jackson, head of the art department at the Norfolk branch of Virginia State College. The Ladies had no difficulty at all figuring out who he was. They didn't answer his letter. He telephoned. They evaded. By this time a number of the artists associated with the Ladies had heard of the application and demanded a membership meeting to vote on the completely unofficial policy the Ladies were enforcing. The vote never came off but in order to tie up affairs completely and insure lily-white-ism for another year, the Ladies' administration resigned from office. Meanwhile about a dozen or so of the better artists publicly followed Harris' example and boycotted the show. The show went on, lily white, dropped vastly in quality, but created a situation in which next year's show, if there is one, will almost have to be integrated.

There are a number of interesting aspects about the whole business. For example, I talked to everyone I could get to hold still and I failed to get a single comment in favor of segregation. The Ladies simply talked about the customs of the region and their duty to other exhibitors not to break the custom without prior consent. The motivation behind their happy acceptance of "custom" seems to have been the property values of the hotel owners fronting on the boardwalk. Actually, segregation is not in conformity with current custom in the Norfolk area, which includes Virginia Beach. The area is heavily federal and heavily transient and integrated in schools, buses and restaurants. The Ladies, presumably, had always assumed they'd be put in jail if they integrated the show. But this year the city manager met with them and specifically asked

JFK economic advisor Seymour Harris reveals:

Key differences between Democratic and G.O.P. economic policy

Bitter quarrels between the Administration and the conservative coalition on medicare, farm policy, etc. point up the main thesis of Harvard Professor Seymour Harris' bold new book . . .

THE ECONOMICS OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES

(With special attention to Presidents Kennedy and Eisenhower)

"The assertion," says Prof. Harris, "that the two major parties are rapidly becoming one is nothing but a fairy tale!" And the *facts* he reveals challenge many an easy assumption among the political "pros".

The author compares every key aspect of President Kennedy's economic policy with the prior Republican Administration and current G.O.P. objectives. He answers:

- Did mistaken economic policies cost Nixon the election?
- How sharply has Kennedy broken with Eisenhower's policies?
- Do the Republicans put price stability ahead of high employment and a steadily expanding economy?
- How did Eisenhower use Presidential power to influence the economy? How does Kennedy?

Prof. Harris covers basic ideologies, party platforms, Presidential advisors, monetary policy, budgets, taxes, defense spending, economic growth, welfare, the farm program, foreign aid and many other vital topics.

10 DAYS' FREE INSPECTION

The coupon below allows you to examine THE ECONOMICS OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES for 10 days, with option to return. Your payment of $7.00 (plus a few cents for shipping) need be sent only if you agree that the volume merits a permanent place in your own library. Send for your copy today.

To your bookseller or:
The Macmillan Company,
Dept. 470-016,
60 Fifth Ave., New York 11

Please send THE ECONOMICS OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES for Free Examination. After 10 days I will remit payment of $7.00 plus a few cents shipping—or return the book and pay nothing. NRP-1

Name.....

Address.....

City/Zone..... *State*.....

☐ *SAVE SHIPPING! Send $7.00 with coupon and WE pay all shipping costs. Same return privilege.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

them to integrate. He assured me that next year's show – which needs the city's permission to operate at all – will be integrated. Nor is he a fire-eating agitator of the type the Ladies dream bad dreams of. He's basically talking money. Last spring Virginia Beach, along with the rest of the Mid-Atlantic Coast was hit by a storm which wrecked houses and destroyed miles of beaches. The ocean front of the city has been rebuilt – the process is still going on – under the supervision of the Army engineers administering funds from the Office of Emergency Planning. This is federal money and the Feds don't underwrite segregation. Obviously one of the best things that could happen for the general cause is a series of natural disasters.

In passing, the discrimination at the beach is another example of Harry Golden's theory of vertical integration. Negroes have always been allowed to look at the pictures and even to buy them: this could be done standing up. But the exhibiting artists are provided with camp stools and sitting, as Mr. Golden has pointed out, is what the South won't stand for.

But the most interesting aspect of all is A. B. Jackson himself. He's been head of the department at Norfolk for six years and has never applied before, though keenly aware of the sales possibilities. A New Haven boy, he grew up in a white neighborhood, went to Yale and came South partly to get in touch with Negro culture. He's a very competent painter, a shrewd observer of the social scene and totally cool. Not only did he not apply before, he firmly rejected white urgings that he show up at the boardwalk and invent the "paint in" as a new device for civil rights. The basic reason he applied this year was a sense of obligation to Kenneth Harris. Harris was commissioned by *The Ford Times* to draw sketches of the art show and turned the assignment down on ideological grounds. Jackson felt the least he could do was try to make the show and thus save Harris a substantial artistic commission.

Jackson talks brilliantly on the rise of the Negro bourgeoisie and its underground alliance with Southern segregationists: Jackson, in his late twenties, feels he owes his own position to the South's determination to maintain separate facilities. In open, inter-racial competition, he'd never have made head of the department at his age.

FRANK GETLEIN

Where's Bowles?

For the current issue of NATIONAL REVIEW send 25¢ to Dept. R-3 150 E. 35 St., New York 16, N.Y.

MOVIES

Crimes and Punishments

Birdman of Alcatraz (UA)
Money, Money, Money (Times)

Possibly the most pathetic term used by prisoners is "doing time." Time is "done" in *Birdman of Alcatraz*, a film about the celebrated Robert Stroud who has been in prison for 53 years, 43 of them in solitary confinement.

In 1909 Stroud was sentenced to ten years for manslaughter – a *crime passionel* in Alaska – and seven years later, in Leavenworth, he murdered a guard. Three trials resulted in a death sentence, which was commuted by Woodrow Wilson to life imprisonment. (It is not clear why Wilson commuted the sentence of a two-time murderer who killed a guard.) He was put into solitary confinement in Leavenworth. There Stroud, who has an IQ of 139, became interested in birds, devoured scientific texts, collected and bred birds in his cell, dissected dead ones, and wrote a book on their diseases that has become a standard text.

He was later moved, suddenly, to Alcatraz and was forced to abandon his birds. (The title is therefore inaccurate.) While in the new prison, he studied languages and law, and wrote a 200,000 word work on penal history. Then he drafted a will directing that the manuscript be sent to an old friend, enclosed the will in a steel capsule which he swallowed, and took an overdose of sleeping pills. He recovered in the prison hospital. The will had been discovered, via stomach pump, and the manuscript had been confiscated. Only the prison authorities know whether it still exists.

Stroud's 24 applications for parole have been denied. Recently, Attorney-General Kennedy refused to recommend commutation, thus agreeing with James V. Bennett, the Federal Director of Prisons, who is Stroud's long-term "antagonist." Bennett claims that the facts of the case, not all of which are known to Stroud's partisans, dictate this decision. It is obviously impossible for outsiders to refute this argument. But it is difficult to believe that Stroud, who is now 73 and in the federal prison hospital in Springfield, Mo., is not being used especially harshly because his second victim was a guard. Even Joseph Redenbaugh, who in 1917 killed a policeman and a few days later murdered a woman for a fee of $1,000, has recently been paroled from Minnesota State Penitentiary. It was recognized that he had "paid" for his crimes (whatever that means) and that Redenbaugh at 64 was a different man from Redenbaugh at 19.

The probable truth about Stroud is the probable truth about many criminals except psychotics. Long after puberty he remained ethically and emotionally that most willful and antisocial of creatures, a child; but a child with sex impulses and muscles. Fifteen

SUMMER SCHEDULE

During the summer months, The New Republic will not appear on:

July 23 *August 6*
August 20 *September 3*

Weekly publication will be resumed with the issue dated September 10

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RICHMOND -TELEFUNKEN

products of

London

LP SALE

1/3rd OFF

All $1.98 mono* now $1.32

All $2.98 stereo* now $1.99

*Catalog Price

ALL RECORDS POSTAGE PREPAID

NO CLUBS TO JOIN –

ORDER WHAT YOU WANT WHEN YOU WANT IT

THE WORLD'S GREATEST CLASSICAL AND POPULAR MUSIC—THE WORLD'S GREATEST ARTISTS—UNSURPASSED VALUES

SYMPHONIC MARCHES
Elgar: POMP AND CIRCUMSTANCE MARCHES Nos. 1-5; IMPERIAL MARCH. Meyerbeer; CORONATION MARCH. Saint-Saëns: MARCHE MILITAIRE FRANCAISE. Halvorsen; ENTRY OF THE BOYARDS. L.S.O.—Braithwaite, Sargent, Harrison. Mono $1.32 ☐

Beethoven: VIOLIN CONCERTO
Ruggiero Ricci—London Philharmonic O. —Sir Adrian Boult. Mono $1.32 ☐

Mendelssohn: A MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM. Schubert: ROSAMUNDE—Incidental Music. Concertgebouw Orchestra of Amsterdam—Eduard van Beinum. Mono $1.32 ☐

Beethoven: SYMPHONY No. 6
London Phil. Orch.—Erich Kleiber. Mono $1.32 ☐

Brahms: HUNGARIAN DANCES, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 10. Dvorák: SLAVONIC DANCES, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 16. Hamburg Radio Orchestra—Hans Schmidt-Isserstedt. Mono $1.32 ☐

Prokofiev: PETER AND THE WOLF
Frank Phillips, Narrator — London Phil. Orch. — Malko. Britten: THE YOUNG PERSON'S GUIDE TO THE ORCH. Concertgebouw Orch. of Amsterdam — Eduard van Beinum. Mono $1.32 ☐

Brahms: SYMPHONY No. 3
Concertgebouw Orchestra of Amsterdam—George Szell. Mono $1.32 ☐

Vivaldi: THE FOUR SEASONS
Stuttgart Chamber Orch.—Karl Münchinger. Mono $1.32 ☐

Beethoven: PIANO CONCERTO No. 3
Wilhelm Backhaus—Vienna Phil. Orch.—Karl Böhm. Mono $1.32 ☐

Rachmaninoff: RHAPSODY ON A THEME OF PAGANINI. Dohnanyi: VARIATIONS ON A NURSERY TUNE. Julius Katchen, Piano—L.P.O.—Sir Adrian Boult. Mono $1.32 ☐

Beethoven: SYMPHONY No. 9—"Choral"
Vienna Philharmonic Orch.—Erich Kleiber. Mono $1.32 ☐

OPERATIC CHORUSES
Il Trovatore; Aida; Flying Dutchman; Nabucco; Otello; Der Freischutz
Chorus and Orch. of the Berlin Municipal Opera—Artur Rother
☐ Stereo $1.99 Mono $1.32 ☐

MOZART REQUIEM (K.626)
Maria Stader, Soprano; Hertha Töpper, Alto; John Van Kesteren, Tenor; Karl-Christian Kohn, Bass. The Munich Bach-Chorus, Munich Bach-Orchestra Conducted by Karl Richter.
☐ Stereo $1.99 Mono $1.32 ☐

Bruckner: SYMPHONY No. 9 IN D MINOR
Hamburg State Philharmonic Orchestra—Joseph Keilberth.
☐ Stereo $1.99 Mono $1.32 ☐

Mozart: CONCERTO IN C FOR FLUTE AND HARP, K. 299; CONCERTO No. 2 FOR FLUTE, K. 314; ANDANTE FOR FLUTE AND ORCHESTRA, K. 315. Rose Stein, harp; Aurele Nicolet, flute. The Munich Bach-Orch.—Karl Richter.
☐ Stereo $1.99 Mono $1.32 ☐

MUSIC OF JEROME KERN & IRVING BERLIN—Stanley Black Orch.
Smoke Gets In Your Eyes; The Touch-Of Your Hand; I've Told Every Little Star; The Way You Look Tonight; The Night Was Made For Love; A Pretty Girl Is Like A Melody; Say It With Music; Simple Melody; No Strings; Heat Wave.
Mono $1.32 ☐

THE MILLION SELLERS
Frank Chacksfield and His Orchestra
Jealousy; Stardust; Sentimental Journey; Friendly Persuasion; My Prayer; Laura; I'm Gonna Sit Right Down And Write Myself A Letter; Young At Heart; Stranger In Paradise; True Love.
☐ Stereo $1.99 Mono $1.32 ☐

ENCHANTED TANGOS
Bela Sanders and His Orchestra
A Media Luz; Tango Espagnol; Olé Guapa; Caminito; La Palomita; Luna Rossa; Hear My Song, Violetta; Plegaria; Donna Vatra; Jealousy. Mono $1.32 ☐

EBB TIDE
Frank Chacksfield and His Orchestra
Ebb Tide; Smoke Gets In Your Eyes; Love By Starlight; Boulevard Of Broken Dreams; Among My Souvenirs; Limelight; Red Sails In The Sunset; I Only Have Eyes For You; Autumn Leaves; Deep Purple.
☐ Stereo $1.99 Mono $1.32 ☐

HIGHLAND PIPES—Pipes and Drums
The Scots Guards
Intro.: Back O' Benachie (Trad.); Hundred Pipers (Trad.); El Alamein (Denholm); Skye Boat Song (arr. Lawson; Boulton); Highland Cradle Song (Trad.); The Green Hills Of Tyrol (Trad.); Blackmount Forest (Trad.); Dornie Ferry (Fergusson); O'er The Isles To America (Trad.); Flowers Of The Forest (Trad.); Lochaber No More (Trad.); Sword Dance (Trad.); Eightsome Reel (Trad.); Mrs. Kirkwood's Waltz (Hutcheon); King George V's Army (MacLennan); Monymusk (Trad.); Jenny Dang The Weaver (Trad.); The Shores Of Argyll (Trad.). Mono $1.32 ☐

BIG BAND ROGERS
Ted Heath and His Music
My Heart Stood Still; Where Or When; Blue Room; Have You Met Miss Jones; Thou Swell; It's Easy To Remember; This Can't Be Love; The Lady Is A Tramp; There's A Small Hotel; Dancing On The Ceiling. Mono $1.32 ☐

MOVIE THEMES
Frank Chacksfield and His Orchestra
Theme From The Apartment; The Green Leaves Of Summer (The Alamo); Never On Sunday; Theme From A Summer Place; Just In Time (Bells Are Ringing); Pepe; Gigi; Theme From The Unforgiven; Theme From The Sundowners; The River Kwai March.
☐ Stereo $1.99 Mono $1.32 ☐

THE BEST OF COLE PORTER
Frank Chacksfield and His Orchestra
I Love Paris; Easy To Love; Begin The Beguine; In The Still Of The Night; It's De-Lovely; Night And Day; Don't Fence Me In; I've Got You Under My Skin; You'd Be So Nice To Come Home To; Just One Of Those Things.
☐ Stereo $1.99 Mono $1.32 ☐

POLKA & WALTZ TIME IN BOHEMIA
Ernst Mosch and His Bohemian Band
Nur ein halbes Stündchen (Only One Half Hour); Oderfurter Promenade; Das geht ins Gemüt (In the Heart); Hartenberger Polka; Heimatgrüsse (Homeland Greetings); Die Kapelle hat gewonnen (The Winning Band); Schatzlein (Sweetheart); Schürzenwalzer (Apron Waltz); Dorfschmeid (The Village Blacksmith); Mondschein an der Eger (Moonlight on the Eger). Mono $1.32 ☐

BEER 'N BRASS—Bohemian Polkas & Waltzes—Ernst Mosch & Bohemian Band
Egerland Heimatland; Fesche Madelin; Ach, ich liebe dich; Zwei Herzen und ein Schlag; Festewalzer; Falkenauer Bummel; Wenn eine Frau die Wahrheit spricht; Trachten-Walzer; Blumengrüsse; Posterl-Tanz. Mono $1.32 ☐

TELEFUNKEN presents the . . .

COLLECTORS SERIES OF HISTORIC RE-ISSUES

Original Recording of the Weill-Brecht
THREE PENNY OPERA
(DREIGROSCHENOPER)
and MAHAGONNY
Lotte Lenya; Erich Ponto; Kurt Gerron; Erike Helmke; Willy Trenk-Trebitsch. (recorded 1930)
The Lewis-Ruth Band—Theo Mackeben Mono $1.32 ☐

BAYREUTH 1936—Excerpts from LOHENGRIN, SIEGFRIED, TANNHAUSER
Maria Müller; Franz Völker; Margarete Klose; Jaro Prohaska; Josef von Manowarda. Max Lorenz; Erich Zimmerman. Orchestra and Chorus of the Bayreuth Festspielhaus—Heinz Tietjen, conductor. Orchestra of the Berlin Opera House—Hans Schmidt-Isserstedt conductor. Mono $1.32 ☐

THE VOICE OF ERNA SACK
Voices Of Spring; Paris-Waltz; Roses From The South; Jubilate; Under The Lime Tree; Village Swallows Waltz; Tales From The Vienna Woods; I Give My Heart; Zigeunerlied; Mein Herr Marquis; and other selections. Orch. of the German Opera House, Berlin—Chorus and Orch. of the Berlin State Opera; conducted by Willi Czernick, Hans Schmidt-Isserstedt, Hugo Diez. Mono $1.32 ☐

THE DEFINITIVE PIANO
Famous Composers Play Their Own Music
A High Fidelity Reproduction of Original Piano Rolls from the Welte Archive. (recorded 1905-1913)
Edvard Grieg; Claude Debussy; Gustav Mahler; Camille Saint-Saëns; Richard Strauss; Max Reger Mono $1.32 ☐

WILLEM MENGELBERG
Tchaikovsky: SYMPHONY No. 6 IN B MINOR, Op. 74 "PATHETIQUE"
Concertgebouw Orchestra of Amsterdam (recorded December, 1937) Mono $1.32 ☐

WILLEM MENGELBERG
Brahms: SYMPHONY No. 4 (recorded Concertgebouw Orchestra of Amsterdam 1938) Mono $1.32 ☐

THE DEFINITIVE PIANO
Famous Pianists of the Past
A High Fidelity Reproduction of Original Piano Rolls from the Welte Archive. (recorded 1905-1913)
Eugen d'Albert; Ferruccio Busoni; Teresa Carreno; Frederic Lamond; Theodor Leschetizky; Emil Sauer; Alfred Grünfeld; Franz Xaver Scharwenka Mono $1.32 ☐

THE VOICE OF JOSEPH SCHMIDT
Arias from La Traviata; Il Trovatore; Rigoletto; Un Ballo In Maschera; Tosca; Die Zauberflöte; L'Elisir D'Amore; The Bartered Bride. The Berlin State Opera Orchestra—The Berlin Philharmonic conducted by Selmar Meyrowitz (recorded 1929-1931) Mono $1.32 ☐

THE GOLDEN AGE OF BAYREUTH (1932-1936). Excerpts from DIE WALKURE; LOHENGRIN; DIE MEISTERSINGER; TANNHAUSER; DAS RHEINGOLD
Franz Völker; Marie Müller, Orchestra and Chorus of the Bayreuth Festspielhause—Heinz Tietjen, conductor. Helge Roswaenge; Rudolf Bockelmann. Orch. of the Berlin State Opera—Franz Alfred Schmidt, conductor. Mono $1.32 ☐

Tchaikovsky: THE SLEEPING BEAUTY—Complete
Paris Cons. Orch.—Anatole Fistoulari. (2 LP's) Mono $2.64 ☐

Bach: BRANDENBURG CONCERTOS —Complete
Stuttgart Chamber O. Karl Münchinger (2 LP's) Mono $2.64 ☐

Tchaikovsky: THE SWAN LAKE —Complete
London Sym. Orch. Anatole Fistoulari. (2 LP's) Mono $2.64 ☐

Bach: ST. MATTHEW PASSION —Complete
Kathleen Ferrier (contralto); Elsie Suddaby (soprano); Eric Greene (tenor); Henry Cummings (bass); Gordon Clinton (bass); William Parsons (bass); Bruce Boyce (bass); Bach Choir. The Jacques Orchestra with Dr. Osborne Peasgood, organ and Dr. Thornton Lofthouse, continuo, conducted by Dr. Reginald Jacques. (3 LP's) Mono $3.96 ☐

RICHMOND-TELEFUNKEN RECORDS
Division of London Records, Inc. Dept. NR-5
140 West 22nd St., New York, N. Y.

Gentlemen: Please send me the items checked in the boxes indicated.
Enclosed is my check in the amount of.....
☐ Please send free complete catalog (Minimum order $3.96)

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

CITY..... STATE.....

N. Y. CITY RESIDENTS ADD 3% SALES TAX
Offer ends October 31, 1962 Offer good only in Continental US

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

or twenty years later than most of us, he became an adult – an extraordinarily intelligent one – in a prison cell. Most children would like to commit murder; many of them try it – particularly on brothers and sisters – and some of them succeed. We are all lucky that we do not have to pay legally as adults for the malfeasances we committed in childhood and that their gravity was, by one means or another, limited.

The metaphysical question is: how long does guilt pertain? When the child becomes an adult, can the second, different person be rightfully held accountable for an act committed before "he knew what he was doing"?

The practical question is how a state can protect itself and diminish crime. In a civilized state there would seem to be only three reasons for imprisoning a felon: 1) to safeguard society from further felonious acts by him; 2) to rehabilitate him; 3) simultaneously, to learn more about the causes and possible prevention of crime by studying him. The Department of Justice claims that the first reason still applies to Stroud; he is, they imply, as dangerous at 73 as he was at 26. The second reason has been exercised by Stroud himself and against considerable opposition. The third reason, so far as is known, has never been operative.

The facts of Stroud's case, as sketched above, seem poor material for a film, and unfortunately the picture confirms this. The story is, of necessity, static. Guy Prosper has striven to make a dramatic script from Thomas Gaddis' book of the same name; the director, John Frankenheimer, has also striven, sometimes somewhat laboriously, to make the most of every visual opportunity. The visits, outbursts, colloquies with guards, and other devices cannot disguise the fact that the essence of the story – the very essence that makes it poignant – is that life has been imprisoned; and this stagnancy does not film well. Once the initial statements are made, there can be, by definition, little growth or interest. The pleasantest report about the film is that Burt Lancaster, as Stroud, gives one of his few good performances. There is no reason to revise previous estimates of his talent, but in parts where he is not called on to be dynamic and compelling, where a contained and brooding tone is called for, as it is here and, as it was in *Come Back, Little Sheba*, he can present an acceptable surface.

The film's distributors have been flooding the mails with reprints of newspaper and magazine articles about Stroud and, seemingly, have become champions of his cause. Is it cynical to ask whether their crusade will continue after the film stops playing?

Since crime is part of life, it has its comic aspects; and they are explored with appreciable deftness in *Money, Money, Money*, Jean Gabin's latest film. Gabin employs his taciturnly eloquent presence as a master counterfeiter who comes out of Caribbean retirement and returns to Paris to pull one more job as a point of pride. With the congenial assistance of Bernard Blier, Delpetre, Françoise Rosay, and Martine Carol, he gives us a short course in his profession. The script, neatly directed by Jacques Bar, amuses consistently and suffers only from the final twist about two minutes before the end. STANLEY KAUFFMANN

WOMEN'S SCARVES AND STOLES
Pure silk from India
Scarf $3.50
Stole $13.50
BOLLIS & CO.
5833 Ashland Ave. Philadelphia 43, Pa.

"WILL FORMS"
Two Will Forms and Book on Wills.
$1.00 Complete
National Forms, Box 48313NR
Los Angeles 48, Calif.

POCKET DIRECTORY OF PEACE ORGANIZATIONS AND PERIODICALS. Contains over 350 foreign and domestic listings. Invaluable to peace workers. 20 cents. Laird Wilcox, Box 42, Topeka, Kansas.

JAPANESE WOODCUT PRINTS
Masterpieces by Sharaku, Hiroshige, Utamaro, Hokusai, etc.
Accurately reproduced by hand-carved woodblocks using exactly the same materials as originals.
Full-scale; museum-authenticated
Illustrated pamphlet listing over 250 titles, $1.00 by airmail, 25c by seamail
Adachi Institute of Woodcut Prints
CPO Box 362
Tokyo, Japan

Let us MAKE YOUR OPINIONS COUNT
Let us SEND THEM TO EVERY CONGRESSMAN
Let us do this for 33 cents a month
ACOPOLL, Inc.,
Box 8117 S.W. Station Washington 24, D. C.

CLASSIFIED RATES
Per word (single insertion).....12c
Per word 6 times in one contract year.....11c
Per word 13 times in one contract year.....10c
Per word 26 times in one contract year..... 9c
Per word 48 times in one contract year..... 8c
NEW REPUBLIC
1244 Nineteenth St. N.W., Wash. 6, D.C.

Correspondence

Catch 23

Sirs:

I have read Joseph Heller's review of Alfred Kazin's *Contemporaries* (July 30), a strong contender for the prize of being the most ill-tempered review of 1962. It begins with a statement that Mr. Kazin "hates literature and loathes his life's work." At least, this, says Mr. Heller, is his "impression." The impression Mr. Heller leaves on me is that of a man who hates Mr. Kazin and loathes his life's work.

Howard Munford Jones
Harvard University

Will someone please remind Joseph Heller that Catch 23 is that clause which affirms that while one may make (as planned) an instant reputation as a new critic by attacking an older critic, it must be done with a degree of wit, style and insight, some evidence of which Mr. Heller has yet to show in his current work.

Judy Feiffer
Margot Hentoff
New York City

I am astonished that the *New Republic* should publish so vicious a personal attack as Joseph Heller's review of *Contemporaries*. I hold no brief for Mr. Kazin's book: it is a bad book, but more than that it is a disappointing one. After all, Mr. Kazin gave promise, in *On Native Grounds*, of being an important, perceptive critic; surely a review of his literary journalism ought at least to attempt an explanation of Kazin's failure to live up to his own standards. But such a question interests Mr. Heller not at all; and accordingly, the review he turns out reads like a parody of a typical Kazin essay, as Mr. Heller defines such a thing: hate-filled and fragmented, written in a style

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which is only occasionally clear and which always attracts attention to its own deficiencies and away from whatever the point may be. Perhaps there are some people writing today from whom one could accept – if not especially approve of – such an intemperate review; but Mr. Heller, an ad-man with one badly confused novel to his credit, certainly isn't among them.

Michael W. Schwartz
The Harvard Crimson

Madison and the Prayer Case

Sirs:

Surely Irving Brant can not be suggesting ("Madison and the Prayer Case," July 30) that to determine intent of the framers we rely on intent of the framer? Madison's construction of the words he penned prohibiting establishment of religion is well known, but one can not conclude that the majority of convention members shared his view. The voting of money for chaplaincies in the military and in Congress, and for the propagation of Christianity among the Indians, and the absence of litigation disputing these moves during the lifetime of the framers, point to the opposite conclusion.

Having spent the last two months in unreconstructed parts of the South, and having heard repeatedly the "first they put the niggers in, then they take God out" argument, I am beginning to wish the Court had shown a little more forbearance.

Joseph F. Kett
Brooklyn, N. Y.

I read with interest Irving Brant's chastisement of the ignorant in his article on *Engel v. Vitale*. On page 459 of the sixth volume of his biography of Madison, I note that Mr. Brant says: "His [Madison's] hope, he wrote to Chapman Johnson, was that students or their parents would arrange for clergymen to hold services in the college building set aside for nonsectarian use. Being voluntary and unofficial, this would interfere neither with 'the consecrated principle of the law nor the spirit of the country'." Madison was then Rector of the University of Virginia, a state institution, and he was advocating the use of one of its buildings for religious purposes. Would Mr. Brant advise that the public schools provide a building or perhaps a room for religious services? Mr. Madison thought it a good idea.

Thomas Renaud Rutter
Newport Beach, Calif.

Controlled Thermonuclear War

Sirs:

On the whole the editorial cuts in my article "Controlled Themonuclear War" (July 30) were made with great skill and little change of emphasis. There is one unfortunate exception: On page 15 I find myself saying "a first strike counter-force strategy may well cause a general nuclear war." In fact, I believe that the attempt to attribute wars (past *or* future) to any single "cause" is a mistaken and potentially dangerous enterprise. I prefer to say, as I originally did, that this strategy tends to increase the probability of general nuclear war sometime in the next few decades.

A printer's error also left out a line, confusing the discussion of present relative bomber strengths. The correct figures are: US – over 600 B-52's, nearly 100 B-58's, around 900 aging medium B-47's. USSR – an estimated 150-200 long range bombers, 400-800 one-way-only medium bombers.

Michael Brower
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

The Later Strauss

Sirs:

As one music critic who has *not* come finally to recognize with Frank J. Warnke (in his June 18 review of the Strauss-Hofmannsthal correspondence) that the six Strauss-Hofmannsthal operas "constitute one of the major artistic accomplishments of our century," and who instead continues to find in them boring examples of the endless empty luxuriance that Strauss' technical virtuosity and garrulous facility continued – after the genuine creative activity exhibited in the early tone poems had stopped – to grind out almost to the day of his death, may I say that I didn't adopt this view because it was fashionable but came to it through my own hearing of the music?

B. H. Haggin
Cambridge, Mass.

Any Book

Out-of-print books located—no matter how old or long out-of-print. Name the book—we'll find it for you! (Title alone is sufficient.) All authors, subjects. Fiction, nonfiction. No obligation.

Books-On-File
Dept. NEW Union City, N.J.

BRITISH SHOES FOR GENTLEMEN at a fraction of their American retail price! $10.95 includes duty and import charges. Delivery in ten days from receipt of order. Money back guarantee. Write for free illustrated catalogue Steven Williams, Jr., Ltd., 40 Chatham Road, Short Hills, New Jersey.

L'EXPRESS

The leading liberal newspaper in France today.
Send 25c for your sample copy.
Howard Publications
Room 503
1475 Broadway
New York 36, N.Y.

EXPERIMENT WITH "SLEEP-LEARNING"
Self-hypnosis. Use your phonograph, recorder.
Fascinating, educational. Details free.
Sleep-Learning Research Association
Box 24-NR Olympia, Washington

A Perfect Gift
GOURMETS DELIGHT
Specialty Seafood Spaghetti Sauces
Lobster-Crabmeat Sauce
Shrimp Sauce
Red Clam Sauce
Simply heat and serve. Delicious on spaghetti, rice, omelets, hors d'oeuvres.
Send $2.50 for three ¾ lb. poly-paks,
DeAngelis Food Products, Hershey, Pa.
Postage paid.

WORLD DEMOCRACY
By
Bin Dir Woor
An American Publisher said "It is a book of the century." Other Claims: "Unique and entrancing," "Beautiful," "A Holy Grail Book," "World Transforming Ideas," "It should become, next to the Bible, a holy book for all mankind." Price $2.
Greenwich Book Publishers
282 Seventh Avenue, N.Y.C.

PRESIDENT WANTED. New Junior College. Exceptional opportunity qualified person. Nominal investment. Box 56, Crown Point, New York

HAVE YOU OUTGROWN GODS, SAVIORS AND SUPERNATURALISM?
Is all your concern for people? Then you're a HUMANIST! Welcome to AMERICAN HUMANIST ASSOCIATION; local chapters, publications. Send $1 for three-month trial membership ($5 for year):
AMERICAN HUMANIST ASSOCIATION
Dept. NR, Yellow Springs, Ohio

Printed by National Publishing Co., 301 N St., N.E., Washington 2, D. C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

YOU'RE A LIBERAL ?

and how do you define it?

Max Ascoli, Editor and Publisher of The Reporter, says:

"A liberal is a man who cultivates the skills that make freedom operational. He is always a man on special assignment."

And Ascoli's definition of a liberal magazine follows logically from it:

"The Reporter's liberalism is based on the belief that liberty, far from being an ethereal thing, is always identified with and related to specific and present situations.

"Because of its devotion to freedom, The Reporter, too, is always on special assignment."

If this fits your idea of liberalism, you should be reading The Reporter, for you will find with it a rare compatibility. In carrying out its "special assignment," The Reporter covers the news (and much more) thoroughly, thoughtfully, responsibly. And in doing so, it has already won 22 major journalism awards for:

- Best foreign reporting
- Courageous domestic coverage
- Perceptive political writing
- Penetrating criticism of the arts

In the best tradition of liberalism, The Reporter avoids the automatic response, the doctrinaire formula. It examines each issue as it arises and on a firm basis of fact reaches individual conclusions.

The Reporter's independent approach... its determination to get to the bottom of things... its concentration on the consequential in *every field from politics to poetry*... have convinced 170,000 of the best-informed men and women in America that The Reporter is the magazine they've been looking for.

So if you, too, like to think independently—and have a lively curiosity and a serious interest in your country and your world—you will find in The Reporter a unique satisfaction. You'll have fun, too, reading satiric verse, literate reviews, provocative fiction, thoughtful essays.

You can start reading The Reporter now at the special introductory offer for *new subscribers only*.

To start your subscription with the next issue of The Reporter, just fill out and mail the coupon.

A FULL YEAR

AT HALF-PRICE

ONLY $3

for 24 ISSUES!

(Less Than a Penny a Day)

Only $3.00 for 24 issues

THE REPORTER

660 Madison Avenue, New York 21, N. Y. Dept. N.Y. NR

Please enter my half-price subscription to The Reporter for 24 issues.

☐ Payment enclosed ☐ Please bill me

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

CITY_____ ZONE____ STATE_____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED